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United States Ambassador
to Turkey

THE

CROSS AND THE CRESCENT;

OR,

RUSSIA, TURKEY,

AND THE COUNTRIES ADJACENT,

IN 1876-7.

A GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRIES, PEOPLES, RACES, AND RELIGIONS OF THE REGIONS NOW INVOLVED IN WAR, UNFOLDING THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE CONFLICT, AND THE VITAL, (COMMERCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS) INTERESTS WHICH THREATEN TO INVOLVE ALL THE GREAT NATIONS OF EUROPE IN IT, WITH A TRUTHFUL NARRATIVE OF THE BULGARIAN MASSACRES, AND MANY THRILLING INCIDENTS OF THE INSURRECTION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES (WITH PORTRAITS) OF THE LEADING RULERS, STATESMEN AND GENERALS OF EUROPE.

BY THE VOLUMINOUS AND TALENTED HISTORIAN

L. P. BROCKETT, M. D.,

Author of "History of the Civil War," "Woman's Work in the Civil War," "Our Great Captains," "Camp, Battlefield and Hospital," "Men of Our Day," "The Year of Battles," Associate Editor of Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia, and Editor of Departments of History and Geography in Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia.

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PREFACE.

A PREFACE is generally supposed to be an apology, or plea in extenuation, for the making of the book to which it is prefixed. This book needs no apology; yet the old custom must be complied with, as briefly as a regard for the public will admit.

The hundreds of thousands of men and women who look with intense eagerness, for the news of the Eastern war, in their daily paper every morning, will not be displeased to find in these pages the information for which they have hitherto sought in vain, in relation to the countries, principalities, and provinces involved in the war.

The average mind obtains only the most vague possible idea of a battle, an advance or retreat, an assault or a charge, from an account of it, such as is found in the newspaper. And when this account has been filtered through the capitals of both belligerents, and has received the corrections, denials, and protests of both parties, it is as unintelligible a piece of information as can be found anywhere.

But, if a reader of ordinary intelligence can find a book which instructs him in the geography, history, manners, customs, habits, and religion of the countries which are in conflict; one which weighs for him the relative worth of these various peoples,—when he sits

down to his paper, and reads that "the Roumanians are anxious to declare war," that "Montenegro has withstood a Turkish force ten times the number of her own, and driven them back," or that "the Bulgarian rayahs are welcoming the Russian troops," he says to himself, "why, I know about these people—I can understand why they fight, and why they welcome an invader. I can understand what the paper says, because all these nationalities, now, are my brothers, and I feel an interest in them."

That is just what this book is intended to do. Do I need to apologize for making it?

Of course, the only originality in it, in the highest sense, is that of plan or arrangement—not, that it is a book made with the scissors, for it is not. I have quoted from other writers, where their method of treating a particular subject pleased me, and I have preferred to give the description of persons or scenery, from the pens of eye-witnesses, to evolving them from my own inner consciousness; more especially, as I had not been there!

But the book is the result of a great deal of hard study and careful weighing of evidence, and is now offered to the public, in the hope that it will make many doubtful things plain, and some crooked ones straight. The latest and best books and pamphlets on the various countries have been consulted, including some not readily accessible, and no pains have been spared to make it accurate, as well as interesting. With these explanations, but with no apologies, I subscribe myself, the public's humble servant,

L. P. B.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., July, 1877.

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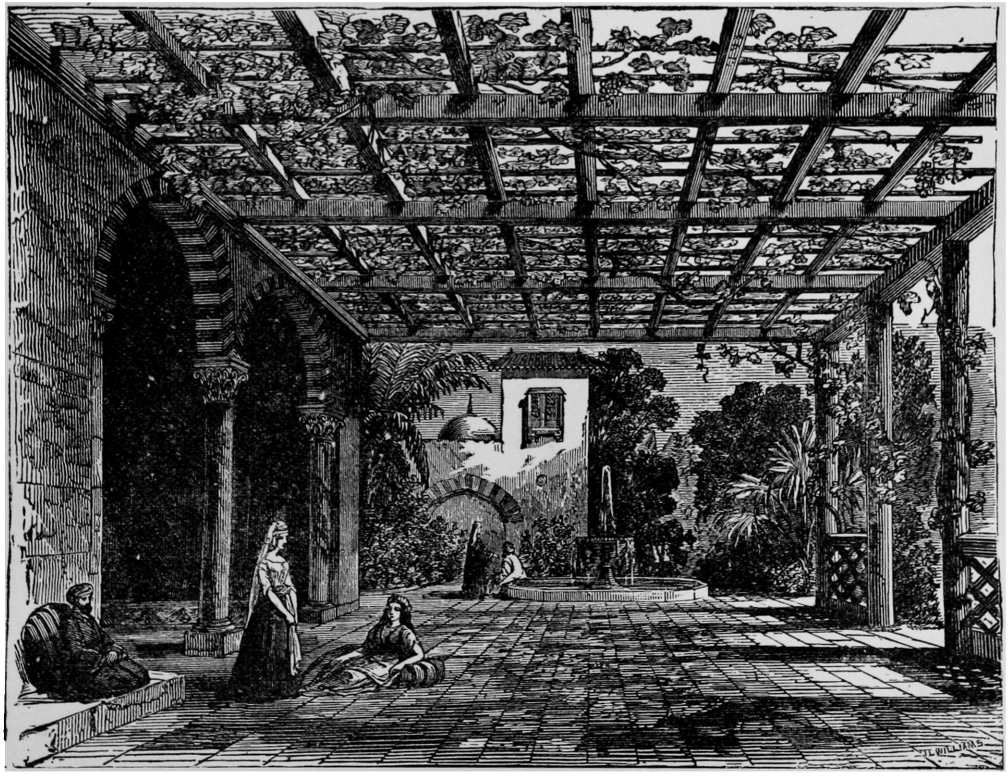


ORIENTAL VINE ARBOR, A SYRIAN SCENE.

INTRODUCTION.

"Know ye the land where the cypress and myrtle
Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime?
Where the rage of the vulture, the love of the turtle,
Now melt into sorrow, now madden to crime?
Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
Where the light wings of zephyr, oppress'd with perfume,
Wax faint over the gardens of Gúl in her bloom;
Where the citron and olive are the fairest of fruit,
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;
Where the tints of the earth, and the hues of the sky,
In color though varied, in beauty may vie,
And the purple of ocean is deepest in dye;
Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine,
And all, save the spirit of man, is divine?
'Tis the clime of the East—'tis the land of the Sun—
Can he smile on such deeds as his children have done?"

BYRON—*Bride of Abydos.*

"The East," so eloquently described by the poet, is to be our theme in this volume, and as we portray its vast extent, its wonderful and often pathetic history, from the time when it was the cradle of the human race; its varieties of climate and production, the diverse races which have peopled it; the stupendous crimes which have drenched its soil with blood, and especially those fearful scenes of murder and rapine, which have characterized the oft-repeated struggles between the followers of the Cross, and the devotees of the Crescent, we think our readers will be ready to conclude that at least "the spirit of man," in those conflicts, was *not* "divine." Our story is not one

of the beauties of nature, except by contrast; but of heroic struggle, of undaunted bravery, and touching devotion, in conflict with furious passion, brutal lust, and envenomed hate, even when the name of the "all-compassionate and merciful One" was on the lips of the fierce warriors.

In the territory of the two great empires now engaged in deadly strife, or in that of their immediate dependents or allies, have occurred all the great events of the world's earlier history, and from it have sprung nearly all the religions, true and false, which have invited the worship, or evoked the terror of mankind.

Somewhere in the regions now composing a part of Asiatic Russia, must have existed the lost Eden; and though its glories of forest shade, of leafy bower, of beauteous flowers and luscious fruits, of cooling streams and plashing water-falls, are no longer visible to mortal eyes, yet the four streams which had their sources in the Garden of God, still flow over sands of gold, and the forests on their banks are rich with spicy perfume.

Rising in stately and almost inaccessible grandeur, across the Araxes, whose waters lave its foot-hills, Mount Ararat lifts its head into the region of perpetual snow,—the second great landmark of the human race. Here, upon some of its broad plateaus, the uniform tradition of the East fixes the final resting-place of the Ark, in that era when Noah and his family were the sole human denizens of a world, but one short year before, so populous and defiant of its Creator.

But these new ancestors of the human family felt the loneliness, which always comes to the heart, in the presence of great mountains; and they hastened, even in their father's lifetime, to descend the mountains of Kürdistan, for even Ararat is within the limits of Asiatic Turkey, and to make their way to the rich and fertile plain,

which, bounded by the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, was appropriately called Mesopotamia. Here they reared that lofty tower of Babel, whose ruins, even in our own time, give evidence of the greatness of their ambition, and the persevering energy with which they wrought out their grand purposes. Here rose, in the world's youth, the powerful empires of Assyria and Babylon, and from this Mesopotamian plain, went out, not only Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the founder and ancestor of the Hebrew nation, but the progenitors of the Chinese; the Aryan tribes who planted their standards in the peninsula of India, the founders of Damascus, and the ambitious and intelligent adventurers, who made the valley of the Nile the granary of the world, and the pyramids of Egypt the landmarks, of all subsequent ages.

From Egypt to Arabia, to Syria, to Asia Minor, and to Greece, were not distant strides, and each in their turn felt the influence of these stalwart descendants of Noah. Meantime, a portion of the old stock had planted a colony in Ur of the Chaldees, the modern Urfah, and another portion, wearied with the plains, sought for themselves a home in the highlands of Persia and Media. The Syrian region, at first peopled by the descendants of Ham, was a few centuries later overrun and subdued by the Semitic race of Israel, who held possession of a portion of it for sixteen centuries, and handed down to later generations the oracles of God, the poetry, prophecy, and heroism of that remarkable people, and were honored above all the countries of the earth in furnishing the birth-place, the home, and alas, the place of condemnation and death of the World's Redeemer.

Greece and Asia Minor, for ages the seats of learning, of philosophy, and the arts for all the world, also formed

a part of this vast territory, which now acknowledges the sway of the Turk, and which, at about the commencement of our era, formed a portion of that great empire which, reversing the course of human progress, made its greatest conquests in the East.

Of the productiveness, fertility, and beauty of this vast region we have little space to speak; no other portion of our globe has yielded so abundantly all that could cheer the heart, tempt the appetite, or gratify the æsthetic taste of man; the grains of Egypt, the wine, oil, and honey of Syria, the perfumes of Araby the Blest, the peaches, pomegranates, citrons, and oranges of Armenia and Mesopotamia, delighted all the senses; while for man's use and behoof the camel, the horse, the sheep, of peculiar and excellent varieties, the silky fleeced Angora goat, the patient and productive kine, and the neglected but faithful ass, all rendered their willing service.

Nor were there wanting high achievements in the arts of beauty and use—the cloths, the shawls, and the carpetings of the East, the garments wrought in silk, in wool, in flax, in rare and beautiful designs, were among its choicest treasures; in all work in gold and precious stones, and in the arts of the sculptor and painter, some portions of this vast realm had achieved triumphs which twenty-five centuries of earnest endeavor have never surpassed.

But while nearly the whole of what now constitutes Asiatic Turkey was, for some centuries, a part of the Roman Empire, North-eastern Asia was, during the same centuries, pouring into Eastern Europe, horde after horde of her Tartar, Turkoman, and other Iranian and Mongol tribes, destined eventually to destroy that empire. They overspread Russia; some of the most north-

ern races penetrated into Finland. They scaled the Carpathians, and descended into Germany and Austria, and, under the names of Huns, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Wends, and Kalmuks, Nogai, Kozak, and Ugrian Tartars, seemed to be about to fill all Europe with their barbaric hosts. The greater part of these tribes belonged to the great family now known as Sclavonians; but there were many irruptions also of the Mongolian races, known by the generic name of Tartars, and usually Buddhists in faith. The Sclavonians, though of different tribes, and often at war with each other, were not inclined to the nomadic life, but settled down upon their farms and holdings, or built towns and cities. They were at first idolaters; but before A. D. 900, very many of them were converted to Christianity. The Tartars, on the other hand, were always nomadic, and the most intense Buddhists or Shamanites, and later Mahometans.

In European Russia and the northern provinces of Turkey in Europe, every town, every hill-top, and every valley, has its history and traditions, as truly as the Asiatic countries; but while the legends of the latter lead back to the earliest history of the human race, and to the great Founder of Christianity, those of the former are almost invariably traditions of bitter strifes, of horrible massacres, of deeds of cruelty and blood. In the earlier centuries of our era, the strife was between Sclavonian and Tartar, or, while the former were yet pagan or Moslem, between the Eastern Christian Empire founded by Constantine, which had its capital at Constantinople, and the wild, pagan, and semi-barbarous Sclavonians; but after the commencement of the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks and their successors, the Osmanlis, who had overrun Asia Minor and the other Asiatic possessions of the Eastern Empire, began to be a constant

source of distress to the decaying Christian Empire. They had descended on Palestine, captured Jerusalem, and not content with defiling its holy places and tearing down the cross which pious hands had reared, as the emblem of the Christian faith, they substituted for it the crescent, the chosen emblem of Mahomet. The Christian emperors of the Eastern Empire found themselves compelled to turn their swords against this new enemy, and the Sclavonians, now converts to the Christian faith, rendered them such aid as they could.

When, five hundred years ago, the Turk crossed the Dardanelles, and planted his foot upon the soil of Europe, all the European powers, for want of organization or concerted action, were powerless to prevent his inroads upon their territory; and though his habits were nomadic, his civilization only that of the warrior, his culture that of the Arab, and his incapacity for prosecuting the arts of peace so great as to be proverbial, they were forced to bide his presence. He encamped in Europe, and a hundred years later took possession of Constantinople; for the whole of these five hundred years he has only held his position by his sword, and that failing, by the jealousies of the Christian powers.

Before the capture of Constantinople and the extinguishment of the Christian Empire, which for eleven hundred years had had its capital there—these nomad Turks, under Murad I., Bajazet I., Mahmoud I., and Murad II., had overrun and conquered the provinces of Turkey in Europe, including Bulgaria, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Moldavia and Wallachia, had dethroned and slain their kings, and placed their own *spahis* or feudal chiefs in command of them as *woiwodes* or tributary princes. The Hungarians had fought the Turks, and more than once had defeated them with terrible slaughter; but the

two nations were very evenly matched, both being of Oriental origin, and perhaps sprung from the same ancestors, and victory inclined as often to one side as the other. From the middle of the sixteenth century to near the close of the seventeenth, the sultans ruled Hungary and divided it into Turkish provinces. But while the Turk was thus controlling all South-eastern Europe, the Russian power, not yet fully developed, was divided among four or five kings, all or nearly all of the Sclavonic race, who were fighting with each other, and fighting the Tartar khans, who descended upon them with their nomad cavalry by hundreds of thousands, captured and ravaged their cities, and then returned to their vast plateaus, or steppes in higher Asia, only to come again, like the locusts, when there were towns and cities to be pillaged. Some of these Tartar tribes made a more permanent encampment north of the Black Sea, and, encouraged by Turkey, kept up frequent inroads into Russian territory.

Poland, the bitter enemy of the Russian kings, had during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, been frequently at war with the Turks, and during the latter century, as the ally of Austria, she experienced many severe defeats. At length jealous of Austria, who was her neighbor on the south-west, and of Hungary, which was now under Turkish control, her own territory extending in a long and narrow tract almost to the Black Sea, and resting upon the Dniester as its south-eastern boundary, with the growing and hostile power of Russia on her eastern border, Poland ignobly became the ally and tributary of Turkey about A. D. 1580, and Austria being also a partially tributary State to the Turk, Russia alone, of all the Eastern States of Europe, was left to contend single-handed against the Ottoman power and its tributaries. The Cossacks of the Don were at this

time a match for the Tartar tribes in the pay of the Turk, and the Russian armies were obliged to contend against Poland on the one side and Turkey on the other. The powers of Western Europe were either allies of Turkey or neutrals during the protracted conflicts which followed; England and France both sought the favor of the Porte, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to persuade it to join them in a war against Spain. The Scandinavian countries were tributaries or allies of the Turk, and Spain and Portugal were bound to him by treaty. Venice, for purposes of gain, sought his alliance. Russia was left alone to contend with this formidable foe.

At the close of the sixteenth century, Turkey held forty vice-royalties: eight in Europe, twenty-eight in Asia, and four in Africa; it had also four tributaries: Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ragusa. Austria, Poland, and Sweden were completely under its influence, and occasionally were called upon for tribute; while Venice, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, France, and England were its firm allies. The hundred years that followed were years of almost constant war. The Persians carried on a long and bloody war with Turkey, and compelled the relinquishment of a large amount of territory. The tributary States, Moldavia and Wallachia, were at war with each other, and both hostile to the Turk. Cossacks and Crim Tartars were fighting along the northern shores of the Black Sea. Venice declared war against Turkey for Candia, which the former held and the latter wanted. Austria and Poland became friends, and engaged again in war with Turkey, recovering Transylvania and a part of Hungary, including its capital. France and England became neutral, and Russia, whenever fair opportunity offered, rained its fiercest blows on the head of the Turk. At the close of the seventeenth century

the power of the Ottoman was beginning to wane. The treaty of Carlowitz, in 1698, unlike all the preceding treaties, demanded no tribute for the Porte; but, on the contrary, yielded to the Christian forces much of the territory he had previously claimed and possessed. In the East, Persia had conquered from him a broad tract from Georgia to the Persian Gulf. North of the Black Sea the old boundary difficulties between Russia were settled by a separate treaty (Russia declining all mediation, then and subsequently), and it was stipulated that the Tartar raids should not be allowed. Poland did not make peace till five years later, and gained, as she deserved, but small concessions. Austria recovered Transylvania and part of Hungary, as well as half of Sclavonia. The Moldavo-Wallachian principalities were still tributary, but less oppressively so. Venice lost Candia, but gained Morea, and no longer paid tribute for Zante, and acquired some ports in Dalmatia.

During the eighteenth century war was declared between Russia and Turkey five times, and twenty-one years out of ninety were spent in war, often of the most sanguinary character. In 1798 a defensive alliance was entered into between Russia and Turkey against France, and this was joined by Great Britain in 1799. This era of good feeling lasted only to a short period after the peace of Amiens in 1802, to which England, France, and Turkey were parties. In 1806, the old causes of strife—the discontent of the principalities, and the cruel oppression of the Christian population of the Turkish provinces—had incited anew the strife between Russia and the Porte; and at this time France prompted the declaration of war on the part of the Porte, whose ally she became, while England joined Russia. This war continued for six years. Its results were: the Pruth as the southern

boundary of Russia; free trade for both countries on the lower Danube; self-government for Servia, with a small tribute, and the promise of greater privileges to the Christians. The war of 1828–9 between Russia and Turkey, grew out of the Greek war of independence, the sympathy of the Russians with the Greek Christians, and their abhorrence of the cruel and brutal outrages which the Turks inflicted upon the Greeks. The Crimean war of 1853–6, while it had some justification in the cruel treatment of the Christians in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Danubian principalities, which perhaps authorized the demand of the Czar Nicholas for the protectorate over the Greek Christians in Turkey, was mainly due, it must be admitted, to the belief that Turkey was hastening to its downfall, and that the time had arrived when, in the division of the estate of the moribund Ottoman among the great powers of Europe, the lion's share would fall to Russia. This not altogether laudable ambition failed to attain its end, owing to the interference of England, France, and Sardinia, and partially of Austria, in behalf of the Porte.

The causes which led to the war now in progress we shall discuss elsewhere, as well as the efforts of diplomacy to prevent it.

When the Ottoman Porte has not been at war with Russia, during the whole five hundred years of its encampment in Europe, and especially during the four hundred and twenty-four years since the taking of Constantinople, it has, except at some very brief intervals, been engaged in active hostilities with some one or more of the other European or Asiatic powers. War seemed to be its normal condition; and no other nation of Europe, and very few of those of Asia, have so utterly neglected the arts of peace as this great nation, which has occupied

for these five centuries and more, the garden and granary of the world. The condition of its agriculture, whether in Europe, Asiatic or African Turkey (Egypt and the Barbary States), would disgrace any semi-barbarian African tribe; and, under its stupid and wasteful lack of cultivation, regions which, in the days of the old Roman Empire, furnished food and grain, fruits and spices, for the entire empire, now yield but a scanty subsistence to the mere handful of inhabitants which oppressive taxation has left to till the fields. Its manufactures are of the very rudest and coarsest character, and its exports are almost wholly the product of the labor of the oppressed Christian *rayahs* or farmers. The Turk is indolent, and thinks it beneath his dignity to labor. He prefers to be an officer in the army, a *zaptieh* or policeman, a tax-collector, a civil officer, anything rather than a toiler in the field, or in the manufactory. He may condescend to sell attar of roses, fig-paste, or silk goods, for then he is a merchant; but below this his condescension cannot go. If he can exercise a little brief authority over some trembling giaour (infidel), or "Christian dog," he is in his element. Then all the savage in his nature comes out, and he readily demonstrates that five hundred years of contact with civilization have not sufficed to render him, except in mere externals, one whit less a barbarian than when he was clad in sheepskin, and rode with his clan on the steppes of higher Asia. That the Turk has proved himself utterly unworthy to dwell in the fair lands which he encumbers with his foul presence, is the testimony of all who know him; that he is utterly incapable of improvement seems to be proven by his absolute lack of progress in the arts, sciences, or civilization, in the past five centuries. Other nations were as rude and uncultivated as this when they first came under the

influence of culture and refinement; but they have not remained in that condition; step by step, and sometimes by very rapid steps, they have attained a development and cultivation of their faculties, intellectual powers, and manners which has made them the peers of the most highly civilized nations in the world. This is wholly impossible to the Turk; he may be dressed in the most fashionable style by a Parisian tailor, and he may have learned from skillful instructors the arts of the drawing-room, but he cannot or will not go farther. Underneath the fine apparel and the society manners, still dwells the savage and cruel spirit of the *bashi-bazouk*, the deceitful, lying, and brutal nature, which is no more to be trusted than the Bengal tiger or the laughing hyena. That there may be a few exceptions to this general character of the race is undoubtedly true, but they are so few, that they prove the truth of the description by their marked individuality and difference of disposition from the great mass.

To the truthfulness of this portraiture of the Turks the testimony is abundant and from the very highest sources. We have only room for extracts from two of the most eminent, though their sentiments are echoed in other words by all the rest. Mr. Nassau W. Senior, a distinguished publicist and political writer, long employed in various diplomatic capacities by the English Government, spent some years in Turkey, and thus gives his opinion of the Turkish Government and people:

"Turkey exists for two purposes: first, to act as a dog in the manger, and to prevent any Christian power from possessing a country which she herself, in her present state, is unable to govern or protect; and secondly, for the benefit of some fifty or sixty bankers and usurers, and some thirty or forty pashas, who make fortunes out

of its spoils. I do not believe that the Turks are more idle, wasteful, improvident, and brutal now, than they were four hundred years ago. But it is only within the last fifty or seventy-five years that the effects of these qualities have shown themselves fully. When they first swarmed over Asia Minor, Roumelia, and Bulgaria, they seized on a country very populous and of enormous wealth. For three hundred and fifty years they kept on consuming that wealth and wearing out that population. If a Turk wanted a house or a garden, he turned out a rayah; if he wanted money, he put a bullet into a handkerchief, tied it into a knot, and sent it to the nearest opulent Greek or Armenian. At last, having lived for three centuries and a half on their capital of things and of man, having reduced that rich and well-peopled country to the desert which you now see it, they find themselves poor. They cannot dig, to beg they are ashamed. They use the most mischievous means to prevent large families; they kill their female children, the conscription takes off the males, and they disappear. The amount of tyranny may be inferred from the depopulation. You see vast districts without an inhabitant, in which are the traces of a large and civilized people, great works for irrigation now in ruins, and constant remains of deserted towns. There is a city near the frontier, with high walls and large stone houses, now absolutely uninhabited; it had once sixty thousand inhabitants. In government and religion Turkey is a detritus. All that gave her strength, all that gave her consistency, is gone; what remains is crumbling into powder. The worst part of her religion—hatred of improvement, and hatred of the unbeliever; the worst parts of her detestable government—violence, extortion, treachery, and fraud—are all that she has retained. Never was there a country that

more required to be conquered. I can see no other solution; the Turk is utterly unimprovable. He hates change and therefore he hates civilization; he hates Europeans; he hates and fears all that they propose. There is not a word of it that does not disgust, or irritate, or alarm him. Nothing but force will oblige him to give it even the appearance of execution. And what is the value of apparent reforms in a people without an aristocracy, without a middle class, without a public opinion, without the means of communication, without newspapers, without even a post-office; accustomed for four hundred years to plunder and oppress rayahs, and to be oppressed and plundered by sultans, pashas, cadis, and janissaries?"

The late Mr. Cobden, one of the ablest of English statesmen, had carefully watched the career of Turkey, and thus recorded his impressions; after describing most eloquently the former fertility and productiveness of the region now subject to their sway, and its present deserted and impoverished condition, he continues: "That in a region so highly favored, the population should have thus retrograded whilst surrounded by abundance; that its wealth and industry should have been annihilated; and that commerce should be banished from these rivers and harbors that first called it into existence —must be accounted for by remembering that even the finest soil, the most genial climate, and all the brightest and richest gifts of nature are as nothing when subjected to the benumbing influences of the Turkish Government at Constantinople. The Turks found, at the conquest of the Eastern Empire, splendid and substantial public and private edifices, which have been barbarously destroyed, or allowed to crumble beneath the hand of time. Bridges, aqueducts, and harbors, the precious

and durable donations of remote yet more enlightened generations, have all suffered a like fate; and the roads, even in the vicinity of the capital, which in former days maintained an unrivaled celebrity, are now in a broken and neglected condition. The cause of all this decay is to be ascribed to the Turkish Government, a fierce, unmitigated, military despotism, allied with the fanaticism of a religion which teaches its followers to rely only on the sword, and to disdain all improvement by labor."

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

THE history of Russia, while absolutely necessary to a clear comprehension of the conflict which has been carried on for nearly three hundred years between the Greek Cross and the Crescent, is well worthy of study, as illustrating the progress of a nation from barbarism to civilization, and also for the thrilling and wonderful events which it discloses.

The history of European Russia, like that of all the nations of the European continent, begins in Asia, the cradle of the race.

When Rome was still a small State upon the Tiber, and Greece had not yet achieved her greatest renown, the Scythians and Sarmatians, two nomad tribes, began to push their journeyings westward from the foot of the Altai chain of mountains, which had been their home in pre-historic times. They had been already, for centuries, the terror of the nations around the Caspian Sea, from their bravery, their nomadic life, their superb horsemanship, and their skill in the use of the bow. They were barbarians in the true sense of the word; but, in avoiding the culture of the more effeminate Persian and Median, they had also escaped their voluptuousness and their vices. Certainly as early as the eighth century

before Christ, and perhaps at a still earlier epoch, they had passed around the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, had crossed the Ural and the Volga rivers and encamped on the shores of the Black Sea, and westward along the banks of the Dnieper, Dniester, and the Danube. As time rolled on, other families of these same tribes followed, and pastured their herds on the broad plains of Central Russia. Other tribes, not closely allied to these, came from more northern regions of Asia, and crossing the Ural nearer its source, made their way into Northern Russia and Finland, and even penetrated to the northern portions of what is now Sweden and Norway. These were the Samoiedes and cognate tribes, and though perhaps of Caucasian race, like the Scythians and Sarmatians, long residence in the cold and sterile North had materially changed their complexions and habits.

It was a long time before these tribes, which had thus wandered into Eastern Europe, gave up their nomadic life; but at last the Sarmatians, who had adopted the name of Sclavonians or Sclaves—from one of their largest families or tribes—began to build towns for their protection against the Tartar tribes, which had been their enemies in Asia and followed them into Europe. For the same reason the Scythians also commenced, a little later, the building of towns and rude walled-cities.

Previous to this period, which was soon after the commencement of our era, the Sclavonians, like all the other aboriginal races of Europe, dwelt together in more or less numerous colonies, governed by elected or hereditary elders of a patriarchal type. They held their councils of wise men, who administered laws very similar to those of the Germanic races. Their principal occupations were the rearing of cattle, the chase, and the management of

bees, while their chief characteristics seem to have been in a degree analogous to those of their descendants, the modern Russians:—they were hospitable, courageous, good-humored, contented, and immoderately fond of spirituous liquors; like most barbarous nations, however, the courage of the Sclaves frequently degenerated into cruelty, and murder was no uncommon crime amongst them. The law of vengeance or retaliation was acted upon, until the introduction of the penalties or compensation in money, known as *weregeld* in German, and *vira* in Sclavonian. Their religion was idolatrous, and their mode of worship resembled the gross and degraded forms of the ancient Druids; they not only offered up their prisoners as a holocaust to their chief deity, Perune, the Zeus of the Greeks, and the Jupiter of the Romans, but would sometimes even immolate their own children to his honor.

About the fifth century, the wild Sclavonians founded some remarkable settlements; these were Novgorod, on the Ilmen, and Kief, or Kiew, on the Dnieper; where they afterwards became distinguished for their commerce, their riches, and incipient civilization. The tribal groups of the north began, about the middle of the ninth century, to feel a want of unity, and of a system of government better adapted to the civilization, which their intercourse with the Germans and the Greeks was introducing. Embroiled in dissensions, and subject on the southeast to the exactions of Asiatic races encamped on the Volga and the Don, and on the northwest to the depredations of the sea-kings, the Sclavonians, according to an old chronicle, sent a deputation to the Variags, or Normans, with the message and the invitation, "Our land is great and bountiful, but there is no order in it; come and rule over us." In 864 Rurik, a Norman prince, took

up his residence at Novgorod, and there founded the Russian monarchy, the sceptre of which continued to be held by his descendants for upwards of 700 years. Two of Rurik's followers subsequently left him to seek their fortunes in the south, and on their journey to Constantinople they attacked the town of Kief, gained possession of it, and it thus became the capital of a second Sclavonian kingdom.

Six sovereigns succeeded Rurik, who, with their military comrades or *drujina*, were constantly making war upon neighboring tribes, or fighting for the right of succession to the throne of Kief, then the capital of Russia. These princes all followed the pagan worship of their fathers; but Vladimir, the seventh in descent, who possessed himself of the throne in 981, was converted to Christianity, originally introduced, although not established by Queen Olga, the fourth sovereign from Rurik, who embraced the Greek religion at Constantinople about the year 955. His panegyrists say that his nature became changed, the cruelty of his disposition gave way to clemency and humility, and when awarding punishments for crime, he is said to have exclaimed, "What am I, that I should condemn a fellow-creature to death!" He also endeavored to overcome the violent prejudices and superstitions of his subjects by founding seminaries, with professors from Greece; and from that classic land he likewise procured architects and other artisans to instruct his people in their several crafts. His military conquests embraced the whole of Poland. Vladimir, though a fratricide and a polygamist, deserved well of his country, and the Russian Church has enrolled him among the number of her saints. His son, Yaroslaf, who reigned thirty-five years, and died at the age of seventy-seven years, was a prince of considerable attain-

ments and a great patron of the arts; the church of St. Sophia, at Novgorod, was by his order decorated with pictures and mosaics, portions of which remain to the present time. His wars with Boleslas of Poland, as well as his acquirements and the splendor in which he lived, made his name known and respected throughout Europe. Three of his daughters were married to the kings of France, Norway, and Hungary; and his eldest son, Vladimir, who died before him, espoused a daughter of the unfortunate Harold, the last of our Saxon kings. Yaroslaf died in 1054, and, like his father, divided his territories among his sons. Vladimir Monomachus, his grandson, who died in the early part of the next century, did the same; and as the princely house multiplied, the country was continually a prey to internal dissensions and strife. In the year preceding the death of Monomachus, Kief was nearly destroyed by fire, and from the great number of churches and houses that fell a prey to the flames, that city must have been of great opulence and extent. This calamity was followed in the succeeding reign by a still greater one, when the sister capital, Novgorod, was desolated by a famine so awful that the survivors were not sufficiently numerous to bury the dead, and the streets were blocked up by the putrid corpses of the inhabitants.

The reigns which followed this period of Russian history are distinguished by little else than continual civil wars, with this exception, that the town of Vladimir, built by Yury I., in 1158, became in that year the capital, instead of Kief. But a formidable enemy drew near in the person of Tushi, the son of Zenghis Khan, who, emigrating with his Tartars westward, led them, about the year 1237, from the shores of the Sea of Aral and the Caspian, to those of the Dnieper. The Circassians

METROPOLITAN AND HIS CLERGY.

and Polovtzes having endeavored in vain to arrest the progress of the horde, were at length constrained to apply to their hitherto inveterate foes for assistance, and the cause being now equally dear to all parties, the Russians made an intrepid stand on the banks of the Khalka. The impetuous attack, however, of the invaders was not to be withstood; and the Prince of Kief treacherously abstaining from taking part in the battle, the Russians were completely routed, and scarcely a tenth part of an army composed of 100,000 men escaped. The enemy then pursued his way unmolested to the capital, which he took, and put 50,000 of the inhabitants of the principality of Kief to the sword. The further progress of the Tartars northward was marked by fire and bloodshed; but having reached Novgorod Severski, they faced about and retreated to the camp of Zenghis Khan, who was at this time in Bukharia. Thirteen years after, Baati Khan, his grandson, desolated Russia again, committing every species of cruelty and many breaches of faith with the towns which submitted to his arms. In this manner the provinces of Riazan, Periaslavl, Rostof, and several others fell into his hands: for with incredible apathy, and contrary to their usually warlike inclinations, the Russian princes neglected to raise any troops to dispute the progress of the Tartars; and the attention of Yury II., Prince of Vladimir, was at that important juncture engrossed in celebrating the marriage of one of his boyars. Roused, at length, to a sense of his desperate position, he placed himself at the head of some troops hastily called together, and left his family under the protection of one of his nobles, trusting that his capital would be able to sustain a long siege. He was mistaken: the Tartars soon made themselves masters of Vladimir, and the princesses, as well as other

persons of distinction, were burnt alive in the church in which they had taken shelter. On hearing of this tragical event, Yury marched with his adherents to meet the foe: the contest was sanguinary and short; but, after performing prodigies of valor, the Russians were borne down by overpowering numbers, and the prince was left amongst the slain. There was nothing now to arrest the march of the ruthless Tartars, and they pushed forward to within sixty miles of Novgorod, when they again turned round without any ostensible motive and evacuated the Russian territory. The wretched condition into which the southern and central parts of the empire were thrown by these invasions, afforded a most advantageous opportunity for other enemies to attack it; and accordingly, in 1242, and during the reign of Yaroslaf II., the Swedes, Danes, and Livonians, sent a numerous and well-disciplined army to demand the submission of Novgorod; this, Alexander, the son of the reigning prince, refused, and leaving his capital he advanced, unaided by any allies, to meet his opponents, and fought the celebrated battle of the Neva, which gained him the surname of Nevski and a place in the Russian calendar. The personal courage of Alexander in this battle was of the highest order, and mainly contributed to secure the victory.

A cruel and constantly fluctuating war with the Tartars, various incursions by the Livonians, Lithuanians, Swedes, and Poles, and the most frightful civil discord amongst the several almost regal provinces of Russia, occupied fourteen successive reigns, between Yury II., who died in 1237, and Ivan I., who succeeded his father in the principality of Vladimir in 1328. At times, during this period, the Tartars arrogated to themselves the power of protectors of this or that interest; and in

TARTAR OF KASAK.

TARTAR OF CAUCASUS.

the case of Ivan I., Uzbek Khan secured to him the possession of Novgorod, as well as of Vladimir and Moscow. Ivan's father had greatly beautified and improved the latter town, and Ivan followed his example and made it his residence. Here also resided the Metropolitan, and it therefore rapidly advanced in importance. Ivan's reign of thirteen years was remarkable as improving and peaceful; and he exercised a sound discretion in building a wall of wood round the city, which supported a rampart of earth and stone. At the close of his life he took monastic vows, and died in 1341. In the reign of Ivan II., second son of the previous Czar of that name, Moscow established its pre-eminence as a city, and became the capital of the empire. Ivan died in 1358.

Towards the close of this century the Russians, under Dimitri IV., raised an army of 400,000 men, and met the Tartars near the Don, and defeated them with great loss; the victors, however, suffered greatly, and when Dimitri reviewed his army after the battle he found it reduced to 40,000 men; this success obtained for him the surname of Donski. Subsequently, however, to this victory the Tartars again advanced, and Dimitri, betrayed by his allies, the princes of the neighboring states, deserted Moscow, which fell by capitulation into the hands of the Tartars, who devastated it with fire and sword until it was utterly destroyed, no building being permitted to remain except those which happened to have been constructed of stone by the Grand Prince. His son, Basil II., who succeeded him in 1389, was destined to see his country invaded by the Tartars under the great Timur, but they never reached the capital, for he prepared to give them battle on the river Oka, when they suddenly turned round and retired, as

their countrymen had previously done on two other occasions. The Russians attributed this to a miracle performed by a picture of the Virgin Mary, painted by St. Luke. The horde, however, joined by the Lithuanians, afterwards laid siege to Moscow, but were repulsed by the inhabitants, the Grand Prince having retired with his family to Kostroma; exasperated at this defeat, the Tartars in their retreat pillaged the surrounding country and slaughtered the defenseless peasantry. Money was first coined in Novgorod during this reign: hitherto its place had been supplied with skins and pieces of leather; twenty skins of the marten were considered as equivalent to a *grivna*, the value of which was a real pound of gold or silver, of nine and a quarter ounces in Kief, and thirteen in Novgorod.

During the reign of Basil, Russia was thrice visited with the plague and famine, while the ancient city of Novgorod was shaken by an earthquake, after the greater part of its buildings had been consumed by fire. Internal dissensions broke out on the death of Basil, a dispute having arisen respecting the succession to the throne between the son of that monarch and his uncle George: this was, by the consent of both parties, left to the decision of the Khan of Tartary, who determined in favor of the former; nevertheless, a civil war followed, and George was for a short time in possession of the throne, when, finding himself abandoned by his party and his family, he restored it to his nephew, and returned to his principality of Galitch. Complicated wars, Russian and Tartar, followed; the principal incident of which was that Ivan, the Prince of Mojaisk, in the interest of the traitor Shémiaka, induced Basil to stop at the monastery of the Troitsa to return thanks on his arrival from the horde, and having seized him there, he

A PRIEST OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

took him to Moscow and put out his eyes. A few years after the Prince of Mojaisk had committed this savage act, Basil was restored to the throne, and died in 1462.

The first exploit which Basil's successor, Ivan III. attempted, was the reduction of Kazan, in which he succeeded, after two severe campaigns; the next was the subjection of Novgorod, in which he also succeeded, incorporating that city and province with his own dominions, and, having received the oaths of the inhabitants, he carried off with him to Moscow their celebrated Veché bell. The next and most arduous undertaking was the destruction of the Golden Horde under Akhmet, which he effected in revenge for the insult offered him by that Khan in demanding the homage which he had received from his predecessors. Ivan spat on the edict and on Akhmet's seal, and put his ambassadors to death, sparing one only to convey the intelligence to his master, who prepared in the following year to take his revenge; but, awed by the preparations made to receive him on the Oka, he retired for a time, and subsequently took the more circuitous route through Lithuania, from which country he expected support; the Russians, however, met and defeated a part of his horde, and were returning home, when the Khan was met on a different route by the Nogay Tartars, who routed his army and slew him in the battle. His ally, Casimir IV., also brought himself under Ivan's indignation, not only for this war, but because he attempted to poison him, and a raid that he made into the territories of the Polish king was eminently successful. This powerful and ambitious prince also made treaties of alliance with, and received ambassadors from, the Pope, the Sultan, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and from the Republic of Venice; it was he who assumed the title of Grand Prince of Novgorod,

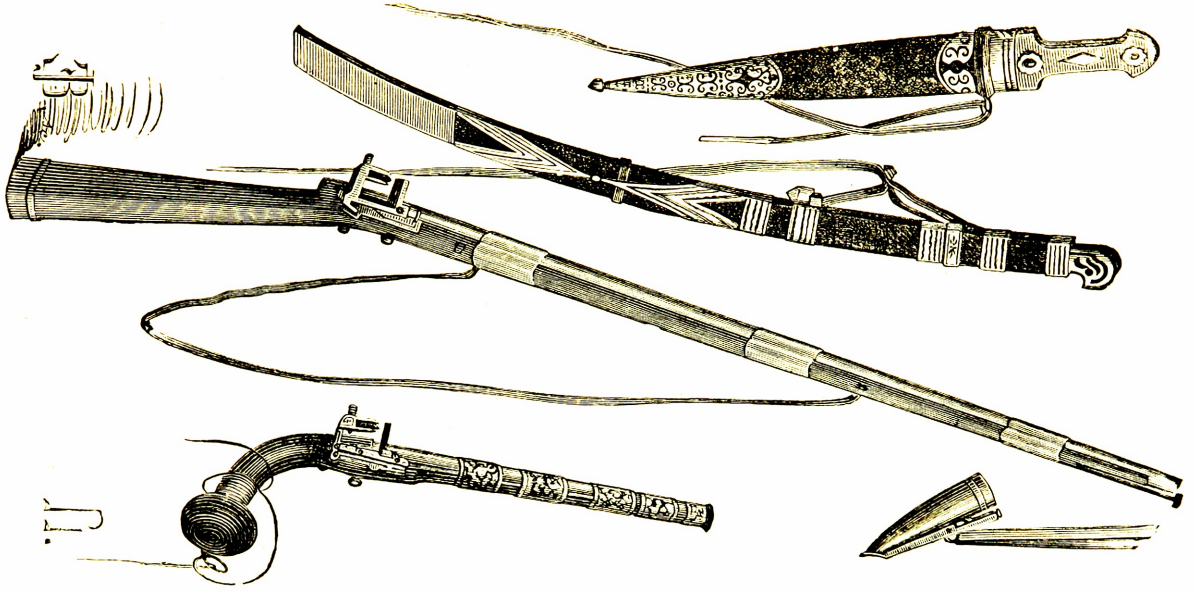
Vladimir, Moscow, and all Russia, and changed the arms of St. George on horseback, for the Black Eagle with two heads, after his marriage with a princess of the imperial blood of Constantinople. In fact, Ivan III. may be called the true founder of the modern Russian empire. The Russian historian Karamsin thus describes him:— "Without being a tyrant like his grandson, he had received from nature a certain harshness of character which he knew how to moderate by the strength of his reason. It is, however, said that a single glance of Ivan, when he was excited with anger, would make a timid woman swoon; that petitioners dreaded to approach his throne, and that even at his table the boyars, his grandees, trembled before him;" which portrait does not belie his own declaration, when the same boyars demanded that he should give the crown to his grandson Ivan, whom he had dispossessed in favor of a son by his second wife,* "I will give to Russia whomsoever I please." He died, very infirm, in 1505, having reigned forty-three years. Wars between the Russians, the Poles, the Tartars, and the Novgorodians again arose on the death of Ivan; and it was not till the death of Basil IV., his successor, and a minority of twelve years had elapsed in the reign of Ivan IV., that internal cabals and intrigues were for a time suppressed. This monarch, the first to take the title of Czar, married Anastasia, the daughter of Roman Yuryvitch, who, in the early part of his reign, had the happiest ascendency over a character naturally violent and cruel. Ivan was, at this period, affable and condescending, ac-

* This second wife was Sophia, the daughter of Constantine, the last Greek Emperor, who reigned in Constantinople. She introduced into the Russian Court the luxurious customs of the Orient, the forms and ceremonies of the Byzantine Court, and the arts of Greece and Rome.

cessible to both rich and poor, and his mental powers, under her guidance, were employed in advancing the interests and happiness of his subjects. Ivan soon perceived that to preserve his own power he must annihilate the Tartar dominion; to this he felt his uninstructed army was unequal: he therefore established, in 1545, the militia of the Streltsi, and armed them with muskets instead of bows—hitherto their arms—as their name imports, from *Strela*, an arrow. He then laid siege to and captured Kazan, taking the Khan prisoner. He likewise defeated Gustavus Wasa in a pitched battle near Wyborg, ravaged Livonia, taking Dorpat, Narva, and thirty fortified towns, and made war on the King of Poland because he had refused him his daughter in marriage. An unsuccessful campaign against this potentate, attributed by the boyars to the unskillful arrangements of the foreign generals, as well as the death of his wife Anastasia, whose controlling influence was no longer felt, led to the unlimited indulgence of his naturally ferocious disposition; and the remaining acts of his life, which this short sketch will not permit us to dilate upon, gained for him, in the history of his country, the surname of "The Terrible." Independently of the many and dreadful acts of barbarity of which he was guilty, he killed his own son in a paroxysm of rage, but died a prey to the grief and remorse which this fearful crime occasioned, after having endeavored to atone for it, by giving large sums of money to different monasteries: he received the tonsure in his last moments. As a legislator he was superior to his predecessors, having, with the assistance of his nobles, compiled a code of laws called *Sudebnik*. In his reign, an English ship, commanded by Richard Chancellor, on a voyage of discovery in the Arctic Sea, anchored in the mouth of the Dwina. Ivan controlled his

religious prejudices, and tolerated the Lutheran churches of the German merchants at Moscow; but he never shook hands with a foreign ambassador, without washing his own immediately after the visitor had taken his leave. With a character so strongly marked by cruelty, superstition, and caprice, it is remarkable to find not only that he was enterprising and intelligent, but that he should have entertained the idea of placing the Scriptures in the hands of his subjects in the mother-tongue: he ordered a translation to be made of the Acts and Epistles, and had it disseminated over his dominions. "*In the memory of the people*," observes Karamzin, "the brilliant renown of Ivan survived the recollection of his bad qualities. The groans had ceased, the victims were reduced to dust; new events caused *ancient traditions* to be forgotten, and the memory of this prince reminded people only of the conquest of three Mogul kingdoms. The proofs of his atrocious actions were buried in the public archives, whilst Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia remained in the eyes of the nation as imperishable monuments of his glory. The Russians, who saw in him the illustrious author of their power and civilization, rejected or forgot the surname of tyrant, given him by his contemporaries. Under the influence of some confused recollections of his cruelty they still call him Ivan 'The Terrible,' without distinguishing him from his grandfather, Ivan III., to whom Russia had given the same epithet rather in praise than in reproach. History does not pardon wicked princes so easily as do people." Ivan IV. died in 1584, having governed the Russian nation for a longer period than any other sovereign, namely, fifty-one years.

Theodore I. (*Feodor*), who ascended the throne after



CAUCASIAN ARMS.

his death, and was a feeble and vacillating prince, died in 1598. His successor was Boris Godunof, his wife's brother, who, like our own Richard, compassed the death of his nephew, Dmitri, son of Ivan the Terrible; and therefore in Theodore ended the dynasty of Rurik, which during seven centuries had wielded the Russian sceptre. Consequent upon this deed came all kinds of civil calamities, and in 1604 a pretender to the throne arose in the person of a Russian monk named Otrepief. This man assumed the character of the murdered Dmitri, and after having drawn to his standard the Poles and the Cossacks of the Don, met Boris in the field, remained master of it, and for the space of one year seated himself on the throne. Otrepief Dmitri was a consummate actor, and possessed many qualities which fitted him to become an excellent ruler, but his Polish wife, his attachment to the Poles, and to the Roman Catholic faith, and his ill-concealed contempt for Russian ignorance and Russian manners, led to his downfall. Boris Godunof had committed suicide after his defeat, but Prince Vassili Shuiski, one of the boyars, or nobles, was put forward by the clergy to overthrow the impostor Dmitri, and succeeded in killing him, and slaughtering great numbers of the Poles, May 24, 1606. Nor was this civil war the only calamity which befell the Russians during the reign of Boris; Moscow was, in 1600, visited by the most appalling famine that ever devastated the capital of a country. It is related that, driven by the pangs of hunger, instances occurred of mothers having first slain and then eaten their own children; and it is recorded that a woman, in her extremity, seized with her teeth the flesh of her son, whom she carried in her arms. Others confessed that they had entrapped into their dwellings, and subsequently killed and eaten, three men successively. One

hundred and twenty-seven thousand corpses remained for some days in the streets unburied, and were afterwards interred in the fields, exclusive of those which had been previously buried in the four hundred churches of the city. An eye-witness relates that this awful visitation carried off 500,000 persons from the densely-peopled capital, the population of which was at the time augmented by the influx of strangers. During this dreadful calamity, Boris, with justifiable violence, broke open the granaries which avarice had closed, and had the corn sold at half its value.

Serfage was instituted during the reign of Boris Godunof. By his advice a decree was issued, on the 24th of November, 1597, a year previous to the death of Theodore, forbidding peasants to leave the lands on which that date should find them. This was the first enactment that bound the peasantry firmly to the soil. Earlier traces of their attachment are, it is true, to be found in the middle of the thirteenth century, during the Tartar dominion, when a census was taken in 1257, in order to secure the regular collection of taxes. The inhabitants of towns and villages were then forbidden to leave them without permission, and the custom sprang up by degrees of restricting the migrations of the rural population to the commencement or termination of the agricultural season. The custom was legalized in 1497, and confirmed by Ivan IV. in 1550; but the full and final attachment of the husbandman to the soil was not consummated until the close of the sixteenth century.

Interminable and inexplicable troubles, a second false Dmitri, and other impostors, led, after the short reign of Vassili Shuiski (1605–1606), to the occupation of Moscow by the Poles, in 1610, who entered the city with Vladislaus,

son of Sigismund, King of Poland, elected to the throne by the boyars, on condition that he should embrace the Greek religion. This gave great offense to the national feeling, and Minin, a citizen of Nijni-Novgorod, called his countrymen to arms, and entreated the boyar Pojarski to take the command. This he did without reluctance, and his army was quickly increased by the arrival of troops and money from various towns, and by the Cossacks and Streltsi, who flocked to his banner. Thus strengthened, they marched to Yaroslaf, and afterwards to Moscow, to which they laid siege, carried the Kitai Gorod by assault, and made a fearful slaughter of the Poles; when the occupants of the Kremlin, driven to the last extremity by famine, surrendered, and Vladislaus abandoned the country.

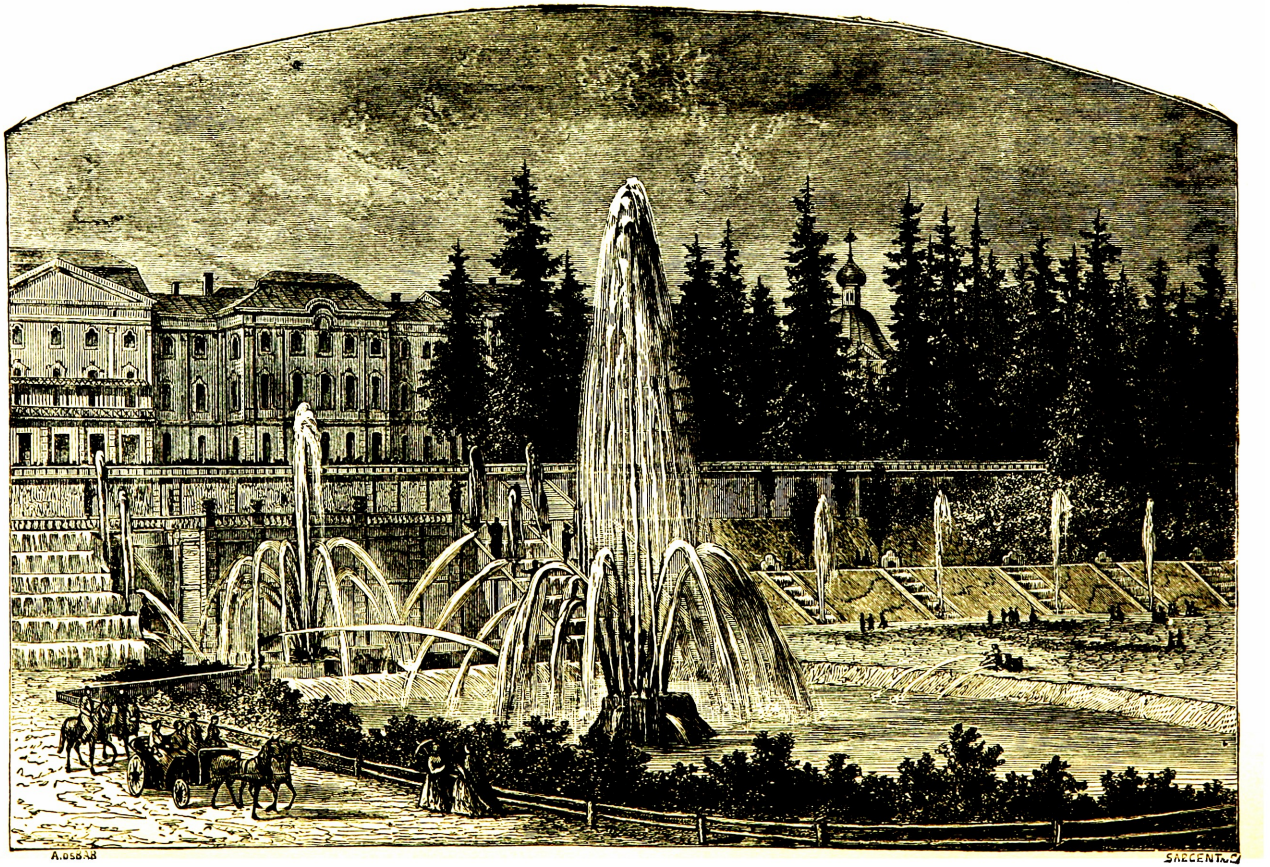
In 1613, after the flight of Vladislaus, the States-General, convoked by the boyars and military chiefs, proceeded to elect as their Czar, Michael Romanoff, the son of the Metropolitan of Rostof, who was at the time only sixteen years of age. He was proclaimed Czar of all the Russias, without the title of Autocrat, enjoyed by the Sovereigns after Ivan III., and the Act of Election stipulated many important rights to the people. Civil strife and foreign wars continued after the accession of Michael; and that in which the Czar was involved with Gustavus Adolphus was terminated, not much to the advantage of Russia, through the mediation of England, France, and Holland. A treaty was signed by the belligerent parties on the 26th of January, 1616, which gave to Sweden, Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and Esthonia, the Russians retaining Novgorod. The Poles were at that time masters of Smolensk, and ravaged the country up to the walls of Moscow, against which they made a night attack, but were repulsed; they remained, however, in

possession of Smolensk, after sustaining a siege of two years. Dragoons are mentioned for the first time in this reign, as forming part of a Russian army, and the Czar was assisted in his wars by both German and French troops; these regiments served him as models for the organization of the Russian army, which was further improved by the discipline introduced by Scottish officers. After a reign distinguished by an enlightened policy and virtuous habits, the Czar died in July, 1645, at the age of forty-nine years. His son Alexis, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, succeeded him. The chief events of his reign were the marauding expeditions of the Cossacks of the Don, led by Stenka Razin, a rebellion in the city of Astrakhan, and the appearance of another Pretender, who was brought captive to Moscow, and put to a violent and cruel death. In this reign shipwrights came over from Holland and England, and a Dutchman named Butler built a vessel called the Eagle, at Dedinova, a village on the Oka river, near the mouth of the Moskwa. This was the first ship that the Russians had seen built on scientific principles. The Czar Alexis directed his attention to legal reforms, and his reign is most remarkable for the improvements which he introduced. The States-General, a body composed of delegates from all classes, and first summoned in 1550, after the suppression of the old Veché or Wittenagemotes, were convoked in 1648, for the compilation of a new code of laws. Little Russia and Red Russia (Galicia), conquered by Casimir the Great in the 14th century, submitted to Alexis. Alexis died in 1676, and was succeeded by his son Theodore III., who died young in 1682. During the short period allotted him for the exercise of power he evinced every disposition to carry out his father's plans; he directed his attention to the im-

provement of the laws, and rendered justice accessible to all, and, in the words of a Russian historian, "lived the joy and delight of his people, and died amidst their sighs and tears. On the day of his death Moscow was in the same distress that Rome was on the death of Titus." The sovereignty of the Cossacks was secured to Russia in this reign. Theodore left no children, and named no successor, expecting, no doubt, that his own brother Ivan would succeed him. That prince, however, was both mentally and physically incapable of holding the reins of government, and, in consequence, his sister Sophia was intrusted with the affairs of state by the Streltsi, who had arrogated to themselves the power of the Prætorian bands and decided that the Czar's half-brother, Peter, afterwards the Great, son of Natalia, Alexis's second wife, should share the throne with him. The two boys were therefore crowned together by the Patriarch on the 15th of June, 1682, but Sophia actually reigned. Subsequently to this the Prince Khovanski, leader of the Streltsi, not only neglected to cultivate the princess's friendship, but allowing her to perceive that he and his men watched her proceedings, she determined upon his ruin, which was further hastened by the intrigues of his known enemy, Miloslavski. This boyar accused him, in a public placard, of having, with his son and his Streltsi, conspired to effect the death of the two Czars, and the destruction of the family of Romanoff; and, under this accusation, Khovanski and his son were seized and beheaded. Their followers, at first furious at Khovanski's death, afterwards becoming disheartened at the preparations made to resist and punish them, proceeded to the monastery of the Troitsa, and made their submission to Natalia and the Czars, who had fled there for refuge. Subsequently Sophia still contrived, with the assistance

of her Minister Galitzin, to govern Russia, until she affronted Peter, who retired to the town of Kolomna, to which place he was followed by a large party; and soon after this, being informed that the Streltsi were again in revolt, under Sophia's influence, Natalia once more removed him to the fortified walls of the Troitsa. It was in vain that Sophia disclaimed this accusation. Peter neither believed her nor forgave her; and, failing in her attempt to reach Poland, she was incarcerated in a monastery for the rest of her life. This princess was, considering the times in which she lived, a woman of extraordinary taste and literary acquirements. A tragedy, written by her when she was involved in state intrigues, and apparently absorbed in political turmoil, is still preserved. On Peter's return from the Troitsa to Moscow, his brother resigned to him his share in the government, and in 1689 he became sole Czar, being, at that time, only seventeen years of age. Ivan survived till 1696.

The ruling passion of Peter the Great was a desire to extend his empire and consolidate his power; and accordingly, his first act was to make war on the Turks, an undertaking which was at the outset imprudently conducted, and consequently unsuccessful; he lost 30,000 men before Azof, and did not obtain permanent possession of the town till the year 1699, and then by an armistice. In the following year he was defeated at Narva by an inferior force, under Charles XII., then only a boy of seventeen; and on many other occasions the Russians suffered severe checks and reverses. But at length the indomitable perseverance of Peter prevailed. St. Petersburg was founded in 1703, under the circumstances detailed elsewhere. In 1705, he carried Narva, the scene of his former defeat, by assault; and two years after, by the crowning victory of Poltava, where he



CHATEAU DE PETERHOFF.

showed the qualities of an able general, he sealed the fate of his gallant and eccentric adversary, and that of the nation over which he ruled. In 1711 Peter once more took the field against the Turks; but his troops were badly provisioned, and, having led them into a very disadvantageous position near the Pruth, he was reduced to propose a peace, one of the conditions of which was that the King of Sweden should be permitted to return to his own country. From this period to 1718, he was constantly occupied in pursuing with vigor the plans which he had originated for extending the frontiers of his kingdom towards the sea; and in 1718, he drove the Swedes out of Finland, made several descents upon the coast near Stockholm, destroyed whole towns, and finally, in 1721, by the peace of Nystadt, regained Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia and Finland, as well as the islands of Dago, Moen, Oesel, etc. Having now no enemy on this side, he turned his arms eastward, and took Derbend, on the Caspian, in 1724—an inglorious conquest, for only 6,000 men were opposed to his veteran army of 11,000, besides Cossacks and Kalmucks. This was his last military achievement, for he died in 1725, in the fifty-second year of his age.

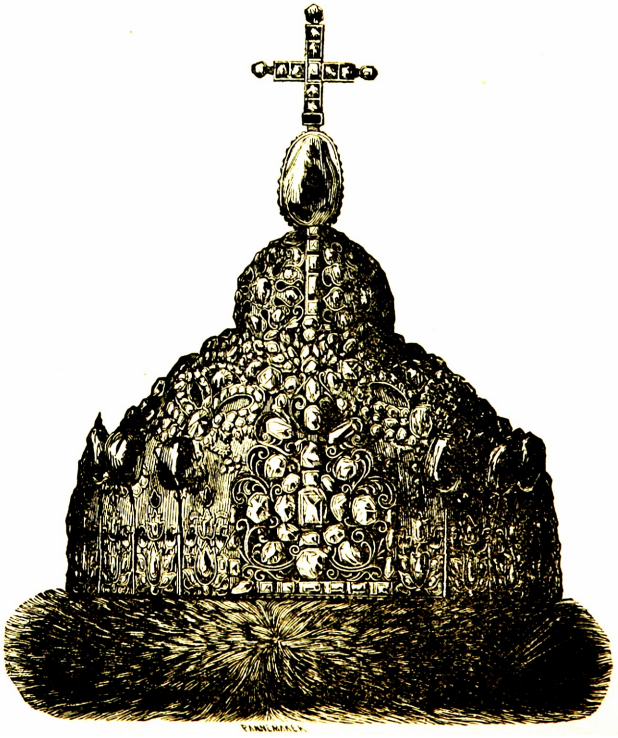
We have said that the Czar's ruling passion was to extend his empire and consolidate his power, but he likewise possessed in an eminent degree a persevering mind and a resolute will, which bid defiance to all difficulties. By the assistance of his foreign officers, he succeeded in forming and bringing into a high state of discipline, a large army; he found Russia without a fishing-smack and bequeathed to her a navy, to which that of Sweden, long established and highly efficient, lowered her flag; he built St. Petersburg, which may be said to float upon the waters of the Neva; he caused canals and other works

of public utility to be constructed in various parts of the empire, endowed colleges and universities, and established commercial relations with China, and almost every other nation on the globe.

The Czar likewise possessed the capability of enduring privation and bodily fatigue, to an almost incredible extent, and seemed to act upon the idea that by his own personal exertions and the versatility of his genius he could accomplish for Russia, that which it had taken centuries to effect in other countries, and fancied he could infuse into her citizens an immediate appreciation of the mechanical and polite arts, as well as a taste for those things which are seen only in an advanced stage of civilization. Peter devoted his whole attention and energies to this theory, and though he could not compass impossibilities, he was enabled, by the uncontrolled exercise of the imperial will and inexhaustible resources, to effect a most extraordinary and rapid change in the political and physical condition of his country. The States-General were no more to be summoned. The Czar now reigned alone, without even the old Chamber or Council of Boyars, that had existed through so many previous reigns. In their place he founded the Senate, or High Court of Justice, which is preserved to this day. His system of administration was founded on the Swedish collegiate institutions. Dissent from the Church was very much increased by his reforms, which even included the shaving of beards. The opponents of the ritual of Nikon styled him the Antichrist.

The manual dexterity and mechanical knowledge of Peter were great. Against the expressed wish of his boyars and the clergy, who thought it an irreligious act, he left Russia to make himself acquainted with the arts and inventions of other European nations, and worked

MITRE OF THE PATRIARCH NIKON.



ORIGINAL DIAMOND CROWN OF PETER THE GREAT.

with an adze in their principal dockyards—he not only built, but sailed his own boat, which is still to be seen in St. Petersburg, as are specimens of his engraving, turning, and carpenter's work. He rose at four, at six he was either in the senate or the admiralty, and his subjects must have believed that he had the gift of ubiquity, so many and various were his occupations. He had also the virtue of economy, a quality rarely seen in a sovereign. He even found time for literature, and translated several works into Russian; amongst these was the "Architecture" of Leclerc, and the "Art of Constructing Dams and Mills," by Sturm; these MSS. are preserved. During the Czar's visit to London, he was much gazed at by the populace, and on one occasion was upset by a porter, who pushed against him with his load, when Lord Carmarthen, fearing there would be a pugilistic encounter, turned angrily to the man, and said, "Don't you know that this is the Czar?" "Czar!" replied the man, with his tongue in his cheek, "we are all Czars here." Sauntering one day into Westminster Hall with the same nobleman, when it was, as usual, alive with wigs and gowns, Peter asked who these people might be, and, when, informed that they were lawyers, nothing could exceed his astonishment. "Lawyers!" he said, "why, I have but two in all my dominions, and I believe I shall hang one of them the moment I get home." His vices were such as were to be expected in a man of his violent temperament, despotic in a barbarous country, and who, in early life, had been surrounded by flatterers and dissolute associates. The Russians date their civilization from his reign; but a slight glance at the history of some of the early Czars will show that, in many of the points on which the greatness of his reputation rests, he was anticipated by his predecessors. Dark and savage as the history of

the country was, an attempt at public education had been made, religious toleration and an anxiety to promote commerce existed, and the institution of a code of laws had already occupied attention. The untimely deaths of some of these princes deprived Russia of monarchs far more benevolent than Peter, men of finer and more generous minds, and though not so ambitious, quite as anxious for her welfare. Under their sway, no such rush at improvement would have been made; no such influx of foreigners would have taken place; but, if not so rapidly, at least as surely, these sovereigns would have effected quite as much real good. Peter left no code of laws established on the broad principles of justice; he traveled in England and Holland, but thought only of their navies, and wholly overlooked the great principles of their government, by which he might have ameliorated the condition of his own. Trial by jury never appears to have attracted his attention. The Czar, it is true, reigned over a nation of serfs—so did Alfred, and in the 9th, instead of the 18th century. The death of his son Alexis, in the fortress of St. Petersburg, whether by violence or from the effects of torture, is an indelible blot on his character. The unhappy Czarovitch was opposed to his father's reforms, and fled his dominions. Induced by Peter to return to Russia, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he suddenly died, after a cross-examination, conducted by the Czar in person, and a frequent application of torture. The Empress Catherine survived Peter only two years, dying at the age of thirty-nine. The reduction of the capitation tax was the most popular act of her short reign, and Delille, Baer, and the Bernouillis were the most distinguished members of the Academy of Sciences, which Peter had left her to open. Peter, the son of Alexis, and grandson of Peter the

Great (by his first wife Eudoxia, who survived Catherine), died of the smallpox at the age of fifteen; in him the male line of the Romanoffs became extinct. His intellect was good, and though so young, he gave great promise of being an honor and a blessing to his country. Anne, Duchess of Courland, who succeeded this youthful sovereign, was daughter of Ivan, half-brother of Peter the Great; she died in 1740, after reigning ten years. Her chief merit was in advancing the commerce of the country, and establishing silk and woolen manufactories—her chief folly, the building of a palace of ice, to which she sent one of her buffoons and his wife to pass the night of their wedding-day, the nuptial couch being also constructed of that cold material, as well as all the furniture, and the four cannons which fired several rounds.

The Duchess of Courland was elected to the throne by the nobles, who caused her to subscribe to a constitution or charter, of which the principal points were that—"Without the advice of the council, rendered irremovable, the sovereign could neither declare war, nor make peace; nor could he choose a successor, appoint to the higher offices of State, or impose new taxes. The sovereign was not to punish the gentry, either corporally or by the infliction of fines, without submitting their offences to the ordinary courts of justice." The Empress availed herself of the discord which soon reigned in her council to re-establish the absolutism she had surrendered. A sham revolution was organized by exciting the jealousy of the inferior nobility, and by acting on the ignorance of the lower classes. A populace having assembled in front of the palace, and asked to see the Empress, she pointed out to Prince Dolgorukof, the High

Chancellor, that the people were desirous that she should govern like her ancestors. "What," she asked, "have you said in your Constitution?" Taking the Charter from the trembling hand of the prince, she tore it into pieces before the applauding multitude. Her favorite, Biren, Duke of Courland, caused all the members of the Dolgoruki faction to be either broken on the wheel or banished to the mines of Siberia forever.

A war which was prosecuted against the Turks in this reign ended to the disadvantage of Russia, and as the price of peace, Azof, Otchakof, and Moldavia were given up to the Porte. Intrigues drove Ivan VI., the infant son of the Princess of Brunswick, niece of the Empress Anne, from the throne, and in 1741, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, took possession of it. Ivan was first imprisoned in a monastery, but, having attempted to escape, was removed to the Castle of Schlüsselburg, where he was put to death.

The reign of Elizabeth was one series of wars and intrigues, and wholly unfavorable to the intellectual improvement and progress of the people. The Swedes thought this a favorable moment to recover their ancient possessions, but were obliged to agree to a peace on the basis of that of Nystadt. Detesting Frederic for some coarse remark levelled at her mother, Elizabeth made war with Prussia, which lasted from 1753 to 1762, the year of her death. The taste of this empress for architecture greatly contributed to embellish St. Petersburg, and the Academy of Fine Arts in that capital was instituted by her; but she was a model of hypocrisy, and while from feelings of pretended humanity she abolished capital punishments, and deplored the miseries her troops suffered in the war with Prussia, she established a kind of Star Chamber, in which justice and mercy were un-

known. Peter III., son of the Princess Anne, eldest daughter of Peter the Great, succeeded Elizabeth, and being a great friend of Frederic, he immediately made peace with Prussia; he also suppressed the secret council established for the examination of political offenders, softened the rigor of military discipline, permitted his nobles to travel, lowered the duties in the Livonian ports, reduced the price of salt, and abated the pressure of usury by the establishment of a loan bank, and instituted other salutary and wise measures. He was, however, of a weak and vacillating disposition, and his tastes were entirely German, which amounted to a crime in the eyes of the nobility; this and the intrigues of his wife, afterwards the Empress Catherine II., whom he grossly neglected, led to his downfall, and he died by suffocation at Ropsha in 1762.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA, CONTINUED.

THE reign of Catherine II. is one of the most remarkable in Russian history. In the early part of it she interfered in the affairs of Poland, which produced a civil war, and ended in the conquest of that country. In 1769 the Turks declared war, which was at first favorable to their arms; they were afterwards defeated with great slaughter on the Dniester, and abandoned Khotin. At this period was fought the celebrated action before Tchesmé, in which the Turkish fleet was completely destroyed, an achievement that was mainly owing to the gallant conduct of Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, and Lieutenant Dugdale, Englishmen in the Russian service. In another campaign the Russians carried the lines of Perecop, defended by 57,000 Turks and Tartars, and thus obtained possession of the Crimea, while Rumiantsoff gained several victories in the Danubian provinces. These conquests were, however, dearly purchased; the plague passed from the Turks into the Russian armies, and the frightful malady was carried by the troops into the very heart of the country; 800 persons died daily at Moscow, and the disease subsided only with the severity of the winter. It was in this year that the Kalmuck Tartars, who had been upwards of half a century settled near the steppes of the Volga, north of Astrakhan, suddenly, and to the number of 350,000 souls, left

the Russian territory for their old haunts on the Chinese border—an affront offered to them by the Empress, is said to have been the cause of this extraordinary flight. Every attempt at negotiation having failed, the contest with the Turks was renewed in 1773; and though the Russians again suffered severe losses, Rumiantsoff brought the war to a successful termination; and, by the treaty of peace concluded in 1774, his country obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, the cession of Kinburn, Yenikalé, with a tract between the Bug, the Dnieper, and Taganrog. Russia restored her other conquests, and the Turks paid into the Russian Treasury 4,000,000 rubles towards the expenses of the war; they also acknowledged the independence of the Crimea, which in the year 1784 fell altogether into the hands of Russia, as well as the island of Taman and part of the Kuban. Shortly after this, Catherine and the northern courts, with France, jealous of British maritime power, brought about a combination against England, which was hastened by the following singular incident: The British minister, fearing that this intrigue was going on, desired Potemkin to lay before the empress a memorial that he had drawn up, which the prince promised to do. Of this memorial the French governess of his nieces contrived to possess herself, and, after allowing the French minister to make his notes in refutation of it in the margin, replaced it in Potemkin's pocket, who, ignorant of the circumstance, laid it before Catherine; when the empress, conceiving the notes to have been made by her favorite, formed a league with Sweden and Denmark, and announced her intention of supporting it with her navy. In 1787 she made, in company with Potemkin and an immense suite, her famous progress to the Crimea, and the following year found her once more at war with

the Turks. Finland was invaded by Gustavus III. soon after. This contest was settled by a pacification in 1790. In the close of that year Constantinople trembled at the forward movement of the Russians, and the fall of Ismail under Suwaroff, after the ninth assault, closed the war on the 22d of December. In this extremity Europe combined to save the Porte from destruction, and in 1791, Russia relinquished all the territory she had acquired, excepting that guaranteed by the treaty of 1784. In these wars with the Ottoman Empire there were destroyed 130,000 Austrians, 200,000 Russians, and 370,000 Turks, in all 660,000 men. About this time the intrigues of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for the partition of Poland, commenced and carried on for several years, were brought to a conclusion by two sieges of Warsaw; in the first Kosciusko was made prisoner, and in the second the Poles, unassisted by his genius, gave way in that fearful assault which, on the 9th November, 1794, consummated the ruin of Poland as a nation. Catherine's subsequent plans of aggrandizement in Daghestan, and on the shores of the Caspian, were cut short by her death, on the 9th November, 1796. The great talents for governing which the empress possessed are universally admitted; and, though her energies were principally displayed in carrying out her schemes of foreign conquest, she by no means neglected the interior economy of her empire. Her views on all subjects were far more enlarged than those of her predecessors, and upwards of 6,800 children were educated at St. Petersburg at the public expense. She invited Pallas, Eüler, and Gmelin to survey her territories and describe their characteristics, and requested D'Alembert to undertake the education of her grandson, the Grand Duke Alexander, which he declined. The empress also confirmed the

abolition of the secret state inquisition, and, by dividing the administrative colleges of the empire into separate departments, facilitated the despatch of business, and rendered the administration in each more efficient. With a view to check corruption, she raised the salaries of the government officers, put down many monopolies of the crown, and issued an ukase which prevented any proprietor from sending his serfs to the mines, or to any distant part of the empire, except for agricultural purposes. She purchased the praises of the French philosophers, corresponded with Voltaire and D'Alembert, and complimented Fox by asking him for his bust, which she placed between those of Cicero and Demosthenes.

Catherine came to the throne eager for fame and anxious to put into practice the philosophic doctrines of the age. It may even be said that she was desirous of reigning constitutionally, as far as serfage would permit her. But she was most anxious to be a lawgiver, and her more liberal advisers took advantage of her ambition and promoted the cause of representative government, such as had existed in Russia under the form, first of the Veché, then of meetings of the States-General. A commission was composed of 565 deputies from the nobility, the inhabitants of towns, the military colonies, and the foreign races subject to the empire, as well as from the senate, the synod, and other public offices. This commission—a Parliament in all but the name—met on the 31st July, 1767, at Moscow, and, after listening to the representations made by the several interests, drew up the drafts of laws which Catherine subsequently enacted, and which contributed greatly to the glory of her reign. But the Assembly having commenced an inquiry into the evils of serfage, the empress dissolved it on the 29th December of the same year.

The Empress Catherine introduced important changes into the condition of the nobility and clergy. The history of these may be here epitomized. The comrades, or drujina, of the early princes of Russia long retained a nomadic character. They passed from one prince to another as those princes ascended in the scale of primogeniture and passed on to the throne of Kief. They acquired no lands, and lived on the contributions which they levied on the Zemstvo, or "people of the land," as distinguished from the servants of the sovereign. On the establishment of the throne of Muscovy, the drujina of the deposed princes repaired to Moscow for employment in the service of the State, and styled themselves bondsmen of the Czar. At his court they quarrelled perpetually about the right of precedence. Each family guarded jealously its position in relation to other families; and each individual above the condition of a laborer had an hereditary right, most intricately regulated, to a certain social position, which he spent his whole life in asserting. The nobles having become unruly during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, that sovereign put to death a considerable number of his servants, and kept the rest in subordination with a new class of nobles, the Opritchna, who carried out his instructions with unsparing brutality. They murdered their victims openly in the streets, and, led by the Czar, visited villages during the night, and razed them to the ground. It was with the assistance of these servants that Ivan IV. subjected all his lieges to despotic government. The old boyars deserted to the Prince of Lithuania, and many were caught and punished. After that reign the older families succeeded in causing Shuiski, one of their order, to be elected Czar: but on the accession of Michael Romanoff, all their privileges were abolished,

and the code of 1649, drawn up by the States-General, or Zemstvo, rendered all subjects equal before the law. The nobles, however, now began to acquire lands which they at first held as feudatories under the Crown, liable to military service. Peter the Great converted those lands into freeholds, and at the same time bound the proprietors to perpetual service. The senate called up the young boyars from the country, and allotted civil and military functions to them. In 1736 the period of service was reduced to twenty-five years, and in 1761 nobles were allowed the discretion of serving the State or not. As every nobleman had been obliged to serve, so every man that served the Crown acquired nobility through his *chin*, or official rank. The nobility are still styled "courtiers" in the Russian language, and a *chinovnik* is always a nobleman.

An important feature in the social life of Russia, is that the right of primogeniture does not exist, except in a few great families. By an ukase of 1721, Peter I. desired to introduce an inheritance in fee of the eldest son, but this was so much opposed to the customs and traditions of the people that it was abandoned. Peter II. cancelled the ukase in 1728.

Under the predecessors of Catherine the courtiers had assumed a considerable amount of power, and now demanded a better position in the State. Catherine II. granted them a charter in 1785, by which the nobles of each province were formed into a corporation, with the power of electing judges and various rural officers. They moreover acquired the right of meeting triennially, for the discussion of their wants and interests. A property qualification and official rank were required of the members of these assemblies, who were exempted from corporal punishment, compulsory service, and personal tax-

ation. They had already acquired, in 1754, the exclusive right of holding serfs. The Emperor Paul annulled this charter, but it was restored by Alexander I.

The changes in the condition of the clergy have been as follows: In ancient Russia they enjoyed many special privileges and the right of administering justice on all Church lands. Ivan IV. prohibited the attachment of land to churches, and sought to make the Metropolitan dependent on his will. The patriarchate was established under his son, but abolished by Peter, who, warned by the example of Nikon, substituted the Holy Synod. The present Metropolitans have ecclesiastical jurisdiction only within their several bishoprics or provinces, and are subject to the Synod. Peter the Great considerably limited the power of the clergy. He converted the monasteries into hospitals, and filled them with soldiers. Monks were not allowed the use of ink in order that they might not publish libels, and the clergy generally were made amenable to the civil law. Peter the Great also established a scale of fees, to which, in the reign of Nicholas, were added regular salaries, the village priest receiving 70 rubles per annum ($50), and his clerk 30 rubles ($22.50), in addition to a glebe of 33 dessiatinas (about 85 acres). The churches in towns likewise possess houses and other real property, which pay no taxes, but their priests receive no salaries from the State. Catherine II. took away the serfs and lands held by the monasteries. They had acquired no fewer than 900,000 male serfs; the Troitsa monastery alone possessing 100,000. In return, she freed the monks from the liability of quartering troops, from corporal punishment, and from compulsory service. Some of the monasteries were placed in direct dependence on the Holy Synod, and others were left under the control of the several

bishops, who were, however, disqualified from depriving a priest of his holy office without the decision of the Synod.

The inhabitants of towns were much improved in their condition under Catherine II. They were not anciently distinct from the agricultural population, and the town lands were held by private individuals. The Czar Alexis, however, declared that those lands belonged to the Crown. Peter the Great gave them special courts of law, and generally promoted the welfare of the mercantile classes; the Empress Catherine gave them a charter in 1785, on the model of the nobility charter, with the right of electing mayors and magistrates. The merchants were divided into guilds, and obtained an exclusive privilege of trade. Nothing was, however, done during her reign to remove the evils of serfage; on the contrary, alarmed at the readiness with which the peasantry joined a formidable insurrection under Pugatchef, the empress placed them still more under the control of the landed proprietors, who were then invested with judicial and executive powers.

Catherine, possessed of great beauty in her youth, preserved the traces of it to the end of her life; in matters of religion she was tolerant from political motives, extravagant in an extraordinary degree, and, with a woman's liberality, paid well those who served her; and though there are many acts in her reign which cannot be defended, she did more for the civilization of Russia than any of her predecessors. She was succeeded by her son Paul, whose short reign, to 1801, was not of any great historical importance. At his coronation he decreed a law of hereditary succession to the crown in the male line, and afterwards in the female, instead of

leaving it to the caprice of the reigning Czar. The Emperor declared war against the French in 1799, sent an army into Italy to oppose the republican generals, and through the intervention of England, Suwaroff, who had been banished from the capital by Paul, was recalled, and placed at the head of it. But the campaign in Italy, successful at first, ended unfavorably to the Russian arms—when the Emperor suddenly became a great admirer of Bonaparte; and, with the same inconsistency that exiled Suwaroff, he liberated Kosciusko; subsequently the eccentricity of his actions led to the conclusion that he was of unsound mind. Amongst his ukases was one against the use of shoe-strings and round hats; and in the number of his eccentricities was a rage for painting, with the most glaring colors, the watch-boxes, bridges, and gates throughout the empire. The career of Paul was closed in March, 1801, probably by assassination, like that of Peter III., at the castle of St. Petersburg, where he then resided.

Alexander, his eldest son, succeeded to the throne, being then 24 years of age. In the same year he recalled the Siberian exiles, suppressed the secret inquisition, re-established the power of the senate, founded, in 1804, the University of Kharkoff, and emancipated the Jews. In 1805 the Emperor joined the Northern Powers against France, and on the 2d December the Austro-Russian army was defeated at Austerlitz. In 1806, Mr. Fox having failed in negotiating a peace between France and Russia, Napoleon overran Prussia, and, Benningsen having evacuated Warsaw, Murat entered that city on the 28th November. On the 26th December the French were beaten at Pultovsk, and in February, 1807, the severely contested battle of Eylau was fought, each side having three times lost and won, the deciding move

being made by Benningsen, who took Königsberg by assault. On the 28th of May, Dantzig capitulated to the French, and on the 14th of June they won the battle of Friedland; ten days after, Napoleon and Alexander met on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen, and concluded an armistice, which was a prelude to the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 27th July of the same year. Alexander by this act became the ally of France, which enabled the French to carry on their aggressive policy in Spain. But the injury inflicted on the Russian commerce, by Napoleon's continental system against England, and his interference with Alexander's conquests in Finland in 1809, roused that sovereign to a sense of his true interests. He broke with France, and the invasion of Russia by the French was the consequence. To prepare for and carry on his defense against this, the Emperor made peace with the Porte, and re-established his alliance with Great Britain. The operations which took place during this memorable struggle are so well known, that they need only be briefly mentioned here.

On the 23d of June, 1812, the French crossed the Niemen and pushed on to Wilna, the Russians carefully retreating, and leaving Napoleon to pass that river on the 28th, and enter the town unopposed. Here the French Emperor remained eighteen days, and then after considerable manœuvring, marched on Vitepsk, where he fully expected to bring the Russians, under Barclay de Tolly, to action. The Russian general, however, declined; and Napoleon, instead of following the advice of his marshals, and wintering on the Dwina, crossed the Dnieper and marched on Smolensk. On the 16th of August he was once more in front of the Russian grand army near that town; but the wary and intelligent De

Tolly had occupied it, only to cover the flight of its inhabitants, and carry off or destroy its magazines; and on the following morning Napoleon, to his great mortification, learned that the enemy, in pursuance of his Fabian tactics, was again off. Smolensk was now taken by assault, the last inhabitants that remained having set fire to it before they left. Up to this time the Russian commander-in-chief had been able to adhere to his plan of drawing the French into the country without risking a general engagement until a favorable opportunity should occur—tactics which were not liked by his army; and Alexander, yielding to the clamor, appointed Kutusoff to the command.. The battle of Borodino, sometimes called that of the Moskwa, fought on the 1st of September, was the result of this change of leaders. The combatants amounted on either side to about 120,000, and the killed and wounded in both to about 80,000. On the 12th Bonaparte again moved forward, his troops by this time nearly famished, and heartily tired of the war, for the day of Borodino had given them a clear idea that the enemy would yield only after a desperate struggle. On Sunday the 13th, the Russian army marched out of the old capital, with silent drums and colors furled, by the Kolomna Gate, and left the city to its fate. In the afternoon of Monday the advance guard of the French army caught the first view of her golden minarets and starry domes, and the Kremlin burst upon their sight. "All this is yours," cried Napoleon, when he first gazed upon the goal of his ambition, and a shout of "Moscow! Moscow!" was taken up by the foremost ranks, and carried to the rear of his army. In Moscow they bivouacked the same evening. Ere the night had closed in, their leader arrived at the Smolensko Gate, and then learned, to his astonishment, that 300,000 inhabitants had fled, and

that the only Russians who remained in the city were the convicts who had been liberated from the jails, a few of the rabble, and those who were unable to leave it. On Tuesday, the 15th September, the mortified victor entered Moscow, and took up his residence in the Kremlin; but here his stay was destined to be short indeed, for on the morning of the 16th it was discovered that a fire, which had at first given but little cause for alarm, could not be restrained—fanned by the wind, it spread rapidly, and consumed the best portion of the city. "The churches," says Labaume, "though covered with iron and lead, were destroyed, and with them those graceful steeples which we had seen the night before resplendent in the setting sun; the hospitals, too, which contained more than 20,000 wounded, soon began to burn—a harrowing and dreadful spectacle—and almost all these poor wretches perished!" A few who still survived were seen crawling, half-burnt, among the smoking ruins, while others were groaning under heaps of dead bodies, endeavoring in vain to extricate themselves. The confusion and tumult which ensued when the work of pillage commenced cannot be conceived. Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, were seen running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away everything that could gratify their avarice. Some clothed themselves in rich stuffs, silks, and costly furs; others dressed themselves in women's pelisses; and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under the most splendid court dresses; the rest crowded to the cellars, and, forcing open the doors, drank the wine and carried off an immense booty. This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses alone, but extended to the few which were inhabited, and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers caused

devastations which almost equaled those occasioned by the conflagration. "Palaces and temples," writes Karamzin, "monuments of art and miracles of luxury, the remains of past ages and those which had been the creation of yesterday, the tombs of ancestors and the nursery cradles of the present generation, were indiscriminately destroyed; nothing was left of Moscow save the remembrance of the city, and the deep resolution to avenge its fate."

On the 20th Napoleon returned to the Kremlin from the Palace of Petrofski, to which he had retired, and soon tried to negotiate with Kutusoff, who replied that no treaty could be entered into so long as a foreigner remained within the frontier. The Emperor then requested that he would forward a letter to Alexander. "I will do that," said the Russian general, "provided the word *peace* is not in the letter." To a third proposition, Kutusoff replied that it was not the time to treat or enter into an armistice, as the Russians were just about to open the campaign. At length, on the 19th of October, after a stay of thirty-four days, Napoleon left Moscow with his army, consisting of 120,000 men and 550 pieces of cannon, a vast amount of plunder, and a countless host of camp followers. And now the picture of the advance was to be reversed. Murat was defeated at Malo-Yaroslavets on the 24th, and an unsuccessful stand was made at Viasma on the 3d of November. On the 6th, a winter peculiarly early and severe, even for Russia, set in—the thermometer sank to—18° Reaumur*—the wind blew furiously, and the soldiers, vainly struggling with the eddying snow, which drove against them with the violence of a whirlwind, could no longer distinguish their road, and falling into the ditches by the roadside, there

* 9° below zero, Fahrenheit.

found a grave. Others crawled on, badly clothed, with nothing to eat or drink, frost-bitten, and groaning with pain. Discipline disappeared—the soldier no longer obeyed his officer; disbanded, the troops spread themselves right and left in search of food, and as the horses fell, fought for their mangled carcases, and devoured them raw; many remained by the dying embers of the bivouac fires, and, as these expired, an insensibility crept over them which soon became the sleep of death. On the 9th of November, Napoleon reached Smolensk, and remained till the 15th, when he set out for Krasnoé. From this time to the 26th and 27th, when the French crossed the Beresina, all was utter and hopeless confusion; and in the passage of that river the wretched remnant of their once-powerful army was nearly annihilated —the exact extent of their loss was never known, but a Russian account states that 36,000 bodies were found in the river alone, and burned after the thaw. On the 5th of December, Napoleon deserted the survivors. On the 10th he reached Warsaw, and on the night of the 18th his capital and the Tuileries. The army that had so well and enthusiastically served him was disposed of as follows:

Slain in fight	125,000
Died from fatigue, hunger, and the severity of the climate	132,000
Prisoners.	193,000
	450,000

The remains of the grand army which escaped the general wreck (independently of the two auxiliary armies of Austria and Prussia, which knew little of the horrors of the retreat) was about 40,000 men, of whom it is said scarcely 10,000 were Frenchmen. Thus ended

the greatest military catastrophe that ever befell an army in either ancient or modern times. To return to Napoleon. Europe was now exasperated, and combined against him; and though in the following spring he gained the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, and on the 27th of August that of Dresden, fortune deserted him on the 18th of October of the same year on the field of Leipsic. On the Rhine the Allies offered him peace and the empire of France, which he refused, and on the 31st of March, 1814, Alexander had the satisfaction of marching into Paris at the head of his troops. After the general peace, in 1815, the Czar devoted himself to the internal improvement of his country, making many judicious alterations in the government, in which he evinced much liberality of feeling. He had good abilities, but not brilliant talents, and his greatness of mind was not fully developed till the invasion of his country by the French; this aroused all his energies, and exhibited him to the world as conducting himself with consummate discretion, and unflinching steadiness of purpose, in that alarming crisis. His disposition was kind and generous, his manners mild and amiable, and his moderation prevented him from ever abusing his unlimited power. Under the influence of his mother and the empress, the levity and extravagance of the court were materially repressed. Unlike most of the sovereigns of Russia, Alexander I. was eminently a religious man, during the last ten or eleven years of his life. He professed conversion from the time when Moscow was destroyed during Napoleon's disastrous campaign already described; as he said to Bishop Eylart in 1818: "The burning of Moscow at last illumined my soul; and the judgments of God, manifested upon our snow-covered battle-fields, filled me with an ardent faith I had never known before. From that

moment I learned to know God as he is revealed in the Holy Scriptures; from that moment I began to understand His will and His laws as I do now. The resolution to devote to God alone my glory, my person, and my reign, has since then matured and strengthened within me. From that time I became another man; and to the deliverance of Europe from ruin do I owe my own safety and deliverance." So liberal was his faith that he prayed with equal fervor in Greek, Roman, or Protestant churches. In 1815, he said to a Reformed clergyman of Geneva, after showing him the draft of what has since been known as "the Holy Alliance:" "I am about to quit France; and I wish before my departure to render a public act of thanksgiving to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to invite the people to act in obedience to the gospel. I wish the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, to join me in this act of adoration, that the people may see us acknowledging the superior authority of God the Saviour. Beseech God with me to dispose my allies to sign it." It was signed by the Allied Sovereigns. In this religious life, Madame Krudener, the celebrated Moravian Baroness, exerted a great and excellent influence over him, as did also the Czarina. Attended to the last by his wife, he died of erysipelas, December 1, 1825, in a small and humble dwelling near Taganrog, when on a tour of inspection through the southern provinces of his empire. When the news of his death spread over his vast dominions, he was universally deplored, and the murmur of regret in other countries responded to the grief of Russia.

As soon as the death of Alexander I. was known at St. Petersburg, the Grand Duke Nicholas, the second of Alexander's three brothers, at once ordered a priest to place the gospels and the cross before the Empress' mother,

and took the oath of allegiance to Constantine, his elder brother, who was that very day proclaimed Emperor. Constantine, like his father, was possessed of an ungovernable temper and an eccentric and wayward disposition; and the Emperor Alexander I. had been very anxious in regard to his coming to the throne. In 1820 he had married (after procuring a divorce from his first wife) a young Polish countess, and his attachment for her was so strong, that he offered to give up the succession to his younger brother Nicholas, if the Czar Alexander would confirm his marriage. Alexander consented, and his formal resignation was drawn up, and was known only to the Czar, the Empress' mother, and the Grand Duke Nicholas. When, therefore, Nicholas early in December, 1825, took the oath of allegiance to him and proclaimed him Emperor, the act though chivalric and well-intended, proved the beginning of a great disaster. Constantine was Viceroy of Poland, and was at Warsaw, but immediately sent thence an answer, confirming his resignation in the most emphatic and solemn manner, and offering loyal allegiance to his brother. Upon this Nicholas no longer hesitated, but was immediately proclaimed Czar. Constantine was the favorite of the army, and they proclaimed him, prompted to the act by the revolutionists who desired a constitutional form of government, and raised the war cry of *Constitutsia*, the ignorant soldiers supposing that they were fighting for Constantine's wife. The insurrection was suppressed with great vigor, and perhaps unnecessary cruelty, by Nicholas, who led his troops in person; great numbers were executed, and many thousands were banished to Siberia and the steppes of the Caucasus. This outbreak made a deep impression on the mind of the Emperor, and had great influence on the system of government, by which his reign is best

known. Nicholas declared war against Persia, which terminated in 1828, by the payment of a large indemnity on the part of the Shah. A war with Turkey followed, and was closed by the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, by which Russia acquired a considerable augmentation of territory on the coast of the Black Sea and other advantages, in addition to a certain amount of influence in the Danubian principalities. An insurrection broke out in Poland in 1830, and was suppressed, after a hard struggle, and with terrible cruelty, in 1831. The territory ceded by the Treaty of Adrianople, having included the Caucasus, the Emperor Nicholas had recourse to arms in order to bring the independent races of that mountainous region to submission. By a treaty signed at Constantinople on the 8th July, 1833, between Russia and Turkey, the Porte engaged, in return for the military aid of Russia against the Pasha of Egypt, to close the Dardanelles against all foreign vessels of war. The peace between the Sultan and the Pasha having again been disturbed in 1839, the Ottoman empire was placed, on the 27th July, 1839, under the common safeguard of the five great European Powers, instead of exclusively under the protection of Russia. This was followed by a convention, signed at London on the 15th July, 1840, "for maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, as a security for the peace of Europe." In 1844 the Emperor Nicholas visited England. In 1849 Russia assisted Austria in repressing the Hungarian insurrection. A dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches relative to the guardianship of the Holy Places, produced demands on the part of Russia, which the Porte refused to admit. Thereupon the Russian troops, amounting to 80,000, entered the Moldo-Wallachian provinces in July, 1853. The combined fleets of England and

France entered the Dardanelles on the 14th October, at the request of the Sultan, and on the 1st November Russia declared war against Turkey. The Turks then crossed the Danube, and conducted a campaign against the Russians with much bravery and success. On the 30th November the Turkish fleet was destroyed while at anchor in the harbor of Sinope, notwithstanding the declaration on the part of Russia that she intended only to act on the defensive, and to repel the advance of the Turks into the Principalities. The combined fleet was immediately ordered into the Black Sea, and hopes of a peaceful termination of the difficulty were abandoned. The Russian ambassador quitted London on the 4th February, 1854. France and England declared war against Russia, respectively, on the 27th and 28th of March. Odessa was bombarded on the 22d April, after an English flag of truce had been fired upon. The "Tiger" steam-frigate stranded near Odessa, and was captured after an attack by the artillery on land; the flag of one of her boats fell into the possession of the Russians. The allied squadron anchored off Eupatoria on the 13th September, and next day landed their troops at about twelve miles below that town. The battle of the Alma was fought on the 20th September.

The following account of the battle of the Alma is condensed from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamley's "Story of the Campaign of Sevastopol":

"The allied army, having landed on the 14th September, at a place about twelve miles below the town of Eupatoria, commenced its march on the 19th at seven in the morning. In all, the British mustered 26,000 men and 54 guns; the French, 24,000 men and about 70 guns; and the Turks, 4,500 men, with neither cavalry nor guns. At night the Allies bivouacked on the Bulganak. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the

army marched onward for about two hours under a bright sun. The front of the Allies was oblique, the Turks on the right being about two miles in advance of the British left. Surmounting the grassy ridges which formed their horizon, the scene of the coming struggle disclosed itself to them. The plain, level for about a mile, sloped gently down to a village, beyond which was a valley sprinkled with trees, and watered by the river Alma. On the opposite side of the stream the bank rises abruptly into steep knolls, terminating in *plateaux*, behind which rises another and higher range of heights. Both these ranges were occupied by masses of Russian troops, numbering altogether, according to General Todleben, 33,600 men of all arms and 96 guns. Such was the position in front of the British. In front of the French, who formed the center of the line, the first range of knolls grew more and more abrupt. These were defended by infantry, and field-artillery were posted, with more infantry, on the plains at the top of the heights.

"The French advanced steadily and incessantly, and attacked a small telegraph station on the plain at the top of the heights, and succeeded in planting their flag upon it. During the attack on it, the right of the British had gradually come under the fire of the heavy artillery on the knolls. Pennefather's brigade of the 2d division, advancing in line along the slope of the plain, lay down near the walls of the village for shelter from the destructive fire of the enemy, and then moved onward to the river; while the light division, passing into the valley, on the left of the second, pressed on until they passed the river, nearly up to their necks, and then began to ascend the slopes beyond, which were held by the Russian battalions.

"The battery now in front of them, covered with a thick low bank of earth, swept the whole front of the British, and its fire was crossed by that of the guns from the knolls, which searched the village and plowed up the plain beyond it. A wide road, bounded by low stone walls, leading to a bridge and a ford, intervened between the 1st and 2d divisions; and the latter point, being nearly intermediate between the principal lines of fire, was probably the hottest of the cannonade. Many of the 55th fell there, before advancing into the villages. To oppose the Russian fire, some guns were at last brought into action on the opposite

bank, and their fire took the Russian center and guns in reverse, while the French, pressing up the heights, had driven back the left. The Russian artillery now began to retire, soon after followed by covering masses of infantry. It was at this moment that a brigade of the light division, consisting of the 7th, 23d, and 33d regiments, very gallantly led by General Codrington, advancing up the slope, under a terrible fire of musketry, took a gun from the épaulement or low wall of earth already mentioned; but, with a loss of six hundred killed and wounded, the brigade was forced to retire down the slope and re-form under cover of the attack of the first division, which had been led across the river by the Duke of Cambridge to support them. The 7th Fusileers, going up to the breast-work with a cheer, retook and kept possession of the Russian gun; the 33d and 95th came to the support of the 7th; the 19th and 47th also advanced; and after a terrible slaughter the Russians were driven back. Sir George Brown rode gallantly in front of his light division and fell in front of the battery. The 55th and 30th regiments, coming up on the right of the 95th, drove back the enemy on their own front, and the three British brigades formed line on the ground they had won.

"The battle had thus rolled back to the right rear of the Russians. On the extreme right of their original position, at the top of the heights, was a battery behind an épaulement, with a flank for seven guns, thrown back to prevent the right being turned. The brigade of Highlanders, under Sir Colin Campbell, being on the left of the British line, formed themselves, when the first division crossed the river, directly in front of this battery, which, before it followed the other guns in their retreat, poured upon them during their gallant advance a heavy but ill-directed fire, doing them but little damage. At the top of the hill they met some battalions of the enemy still showing a front, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of a good many men; and two troops of horse-artillery which had crossed the river higher up, coming into action, played upon the retreating masses with great effect. Thus ended, after a contest of three hours, the battle of the Alma.

"The retreat was effected in good order, with the loss of two guns, and Prince Menschikoff's carriage with his papers. The

loss of the Allies was about 3,000 in killed and wounded. General Todleben attributes the loss of the battle mainly to the superior discipline and arms of the Allies.

"Prince Menschikoff, having made good his retreat to Sevastopol, caused its fortifications to be strengthened by Todleben, and ordered Admiral Korniloff to sink his squadron in the roadstead. On the 23d, the Allies reached the Katcha and encamped there, without finding the enemy as they had expected. On the 24th they bivouacked near Belbek. Meanwhile Prince Menschikoff had quitted Sevastopol in the night, to proceed with his army to Bakhchisarai by the Mackenzie road, leaving only 16,569 fighting men in garrison, and losing some carriages with baggage and ammunition on the plain. General Todleben is of opinion that neither the *exaltation* of the Russian troops, nor their resolution to fight to the last, would have been able to save Sevastopol if the Allies had attacked it immediately after the passage of the Tchernaya. However that may be, the Allies moved on the 26th September toward the east, in the direction of Mackenzie's farm, and successfully accomplished the maneuver of transferring the army from the north to the south side of Sevastopol."

On the 26th Balaclava harbor was occupied. Sevastopol was attacked by sea and by land on the 17th October. The Light Cavalry charge at Balaclava was made on the 25th October; out of 607 men only 198 returned. While the siege was progressing large reinforcements were pouring into the Russian camp. The Russians attacked the English positions in front of Inkermann on the 5th November, but were compelled to retreat.

The following account of the battle of Inkermann is likewise condensed from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamley's "Story of the Campaign of Sevastopol":

"During the night of the 4–5th of November the Russians had assembled in force in the valley of the Tchernaya between Inkermann and the harbor. The object of their enterprise, according to General Todleben, was to drive back the right wing of the besiegers, and take firm possession of the ground occupied

by them between the town and the shore. A force of 18,929 men and 38 guns was to start at six in the morning for 'Careening Bay,' and to be joined by another body of 15,806 men and 96 guns passing over the bridge of Inkermann. On their junction they were to be under the command of General Dannenberg; while Prince Gortschakoff, with 22,444 men and 88 guns, was to support the attack and endeavor to effect a diversion. This plan was not entirely carried out, for the body of 18,929 men proceeded to a different side of the ravine from that originally contemplated, and thus prevented the meditated junction.

"At dawn they made their rush upon the advanced posts of the second division posted on the crest looking down into the valley, and which fell back fighting upon the camp behind the crest, 1200 yards in rear. The outposts being driven in, the hill was occupied by the enemy's artillery and guns of position, which commenced a heavy fire down the face of the gentle declivity, crashing through the tents left standing below. Captain Allix, of General Evans's staff, was dashed from his saddle, not far from his own tent, by a round shot, and fell dead. The plan of the Russians was, after sweeping the ridge clear by their heavy concentrated fire, to launch some of their columns over it, while others, diverging to their left after crossing the marsh, were to have passed round the edge of the cliffs opposite Inkermann, and turned the British right. The artillery fire had not continued long before the rush of infantry was made. Crowds of skirmishers advancing through the coppice came on in spite of the case-shot, and passed within the British lines, forcing the artillery to limber up and retire down the slope. Two companies of the 55th, lying down behind a small bank of earth, retreated as the Russians leapt over it, firing as they went back, and halted on a French regiment that was marching up the hill. The Russians retreated in their turn, and the French, with General Pennefather riding in front, went gallantly down the slope under the tremendous fire, driving the enemy before them. Almost simultaneously with this attack on the center, a body of Russians had passed round the edge of the cliff, and met the Guards there, who had thrown themselves into a two-gun battery on the edge of the slope opposite the ruins of the old castle, with the Grenadiers extending to the right, the Fusileers to the left, of the battery, and the

Coldstreams across the slope toward the British center. The Russians came on in great numbers with extraordinary determination. The Guards, having exhausted their ammunition, attacked the Russians with the bayonet, and, after losing nearly half their number were compelled to retire, but, being reinforced, returned and drove the enemy out of the battery.

"Four of the guns of Townsend's battery of the fourth division, which came up at the left of the position, were taken by the Russians almost as soon as unlimbered, but some of the 88th and 49th retook them before they had been many seconds in the enemy's hands. In all these attacks on the British right, the Russians were prevented from turning that flank by Codrington's brigade of the light division posted on the further bank of the ravine. When the Russian infantry was driven back, a cannonade recommenced along their whole line, to which the British guns replied warmly, though overmatched in metal and numbers. The ships in the harbor, and the battery at the Round Tower, also threw shot and shell on the slope.

"This cannonade was the preface to another infantry attack, which now again threatened the British right, at that moment absolutely without defense. By advancing resolutely, the enemy would have turned it, but the men who had retreated from the low intrenchment already spoken of, rallied and lay down under it. Then reinforcements arrived for the support of the remnant of the defenders of the 2-gun battery. These fresh troops at once charged the enemy, routed them, and pursued them to the very verge of the heights, when, returning victorious, they found the battery, as they repassed it, again occupied by Russians, a fresh force of whom had mounted the cliff from the valley. It was while collecting his men to meet this new and unexpected foe, that Sir George Cathcart was shot dead.

"At this juncture the remainder of Bosquet's division came up on the right, and, passing at once over the crest, threw themselves into the combat, and, fighting side by side with the British troops, pressed the Russians back. A tremendous cannonade was now again opened by the Russians, and replied to by English and French batteries of artillery and two 18-pounders ordered up by Lord Raglan. Between these two opposing fires of artillery, a fierce desultory combat of skirmishers went on in the coppice.

Regiments and divisions, French and English, were here mixed, and fought hand to hand with the common enemy. About noon the fire of the Russians slackened, and further French reinforcements took up a position on the hill. The battle was now prolonged only by the efforts of the Russian artillery to cover the retreat of their foiled and broken battalions. At three o'clock the French and English generals, with their staffs, passed along the crest of the disputed hill, and half an hour after the whole force of the enemy retired across the Tchernaya.

"Until the arrival of the fourth division and the French, the ground was held by about 5,000 British troops, presenting a thin and scattered line, while the body of Russians immediately opposed to them was, according to General Todleben, 15,000 strong. In all, 8,000 English and 6,000 French were engaged. The total Russian force, estimated by Lord Raglan at 60,000, is put down by General Todleben at 34,835, of whom 6 generals, 256 officers, and 10,467 rank and file were put *hors de combat*—more than double the loss of the Allies. The loss of the battle is attributed by General Todleben to the want of simultaneity in the advance of the Russians (owing to conflicting arrangements in starting from Sevastopol), the superiority of the French and English small-arms, and the omission of the Russian artillery to follow and support their infantry.

"Large trenches were dug on the ground for the dead; the Russians lay apart, the French and English were ranged side by side."

A hurricane destroyed a great amount of shipping in the Black Sea on the 14th November, causing the Allies to suffer considerably from the want of supplies. General Todleben now assumed with much success the direction of the defenses of Sevastopol, and soon gained great renown; the Allies in the meanwhile were repulsed in a naval attack on Petropaulovski, in the Pacific. In 1855 Sardinia joined the Allies with a contingent of 15,000 men. On the 17th February the Russians made a formidable attack on Eupatoria, defended by the Turks under Omer Pasha and by a French detach-

ment, but were obliged to retire with great loss; the intelligence of the repulse reached the Emperor Nicholas but a few days before his death, which took place very unexpectedly on the 2d March. A conference was soon after opened at Vienna with the object of concluding peace, but, after sitting six weeks, it was dissolved without any satisfactory result. The war, however, was still actively prosecuted. The second bombardment of Sevastopol was opened at daybreak of the 9th April, 1855, and produced no decisive result. The third bombardment commenced on the 6th June, and was followed next day by successful attacks on the Mamelon and Quarries. General Liprandi having attempted to raise the siege, the battle of the Tchernaya was fought on the 16th August, and resulted in the complete success of the French and Sardinian troops engaged in it. On the 5th September an "infernal fire" was opened by the Allies and kept up until the 8th, when the French stormed the Malakoff and the English the Redan, which was, however, abandoned after an unequal contest of nearly two hours. The French loss on that day amounted to 1,489 killed, 4,259 wounded, and 1,400 missing; and the English to 385 killed, 1,886 wounded, and 176 missing; the Russians, according to their own account, losing 2,684 killed, 7,243 wounded, and 1,763 missing. The south side of Sevastopol being no longer tenable, the town was evacuated during the night; the magazines were exploded, the fortifications blown up, and the ships in the harbor sunk. The Allies took possession of the ruins next day. The operations of the Anglo-French squadron in the Baltic consisted, in 1854, of a reconnoissance off Cronstadt by Sir Charles Napier, and a boat action at Gamlé Karbely, in the Gulf of Finland, when the paddlebox-boat of the "Vulture" drifted on shore and be-

came a prize. The flag of this boat is shown at St. Petersburg, being, together with that of the "Tiger's" boat, the only English colors preserved in Russia as military trophies. The forts of Bomarsund, on the Aland Islands, were captured on the 15th July, 1854, by a French force of 10,000 men and a small contingent of English marines and seamen. In 1855 the Baltic fleet bombarded Sveaborg and cruised off Cronstadt, under the command of Admiral Dundas and Admiral Penaud. The war in Asia terminated with the surrender of Kars to General Mouravieff. By the intervention of Austria, preliminaries of peace were agreed upon at a meeting of plenipotentiaries at Paris on the 26th February, 1856, and peace was signed on the 30th March and ratified on the 27th April following. By that treaty the territorial integrity and the independence of the Ottoman empire were recognized and guaranteed. Russia and Turkey mutually agreed not to keep in the Black Sea more than six steam-vessels, of 800 tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing vessels, not exceeding 200 tons. The navigation of the Danube was opened to the vessels of all nations, and the Russian frontier in Bessarabia was rectified. No exclusive protection over the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia was in future to be admitted; and in case of the internal tranquility of the principalities being menaced, no armed intervention could take place without the general sanction of the contracting powers.

The Emperor Alexander II. was crowned at Moscow on the 7th September, 1856. His accession was marked by the introduction of vast reforms in the administration. Corruption was prosecuted and punished. The army was reduced to the lowest limits compatible with the dignity and safety of the country, and the term of

military service was shortened. Railways were projected and commenced, and commercial and industrial enterprise of every kind was liberally promoted in view of restoring the prosperity of the empire, much impaired by the war. Overtrading, however, induced by an artificial encouragement, added its disastrous effects to financial embarrassment, and assisted in depreciating the currency of the country, no longer metallic. New loans were made, and a system of financial publicity was adopted. But the most glorious monument of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II. will ever be the emancipation of the serfs. Their manumission had been frequently contemplated. The delegates in Catherine II.'s parliament had suggested it; Alexander I. had counselors who ardently desired to see its abolition, and even the Emperor Nicholas had contemplated a more mitigated form of personal bondage. In 1838 a section of the nobility petitioned for its entire abolition. In 1852 the Minister of the Interior actually drew up a plan of gradual emancipation, which was to have been carried into execution in the spring of 1854. In 1855, the nobility of the province of Lithuania having offered to free their serfs, the Emperor Alexander II. convoked a commission at St. Petersburg, which was charged with the preparation of an act of general emancipation. This was proclaimed on the 3d March, 1861, when all the serfs (about 45 millions, including those belonging to the Crown and those in Poland) acquired personal liberty and civil rights. A period of two years was allowed for the appropriation of land to the peasants, who have acquired the "perpetual usufruct" of the houses and plots of ground which they occupied at the time of emancipation; the allotments of land being, however, circumscribed by a scale which varied according to the

locality and quality of the soil. The compulsory appropriation to each peasant varied from a minimum of 1 dessiatina (2 1-2 acres) to a maximum of 12 dessiatinas in the steppe districts. In the central parts of Russia the extent of the allotments was, on an average, about 4 dessiatinas (10 acres) to each peasant. Beyond this, the enfranchised serf is permitted to acquire additional lands on terms of mutual agreement with the landed proprietors. Those terms were regulated by a body of officials, called "Arbitrators of the Peace," who drew up and registered the deeds of sale or lease. The government in such cases advanced the purchase-money to the peasant by the issue of redemption-bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, and is refunded by a series of payments extending over a certain number of years. The communes being responsible, as corporations, to the State for such re-payments, their members are circumscribed in their liberty of locomotion, until they have paid their share of the heavy liability incurred. It is calculated that the government have advanced 300 millions of rubles in these transactions, by which each peasant is enabled to become an independent and considerable landed proprietor. The larger estates of the nobles are in the meanwhile to a great extent deprived of agricultural labor, and are being very generally thrown out of cultivation or partially farmed out to the peasantry. In the ancient provinces of Poland, since the insurrection which broke out in Poland and Lithuania in 1863, the proprietors are forced by ukase to cede such portions of additional lands as the peasants may desire to purchase; but the measure has not been applied to Russia Proper. The emancipation was carried out peaceably, with only a few partial agrarian outbreaks, produced chiefly by erroneous interpretations of the law, though not without some bitter-

ness between the nobles and the peasants, which has now, however, mostly disappeared.

Among the many other important reforms which followed the Act of Emancipation we may signalize the introduction of new courts of law on the basis of open trial by jury, which came into operation at Moscow and St. Petersburg during the course of 1865, and in other parts of the empire later. Corporal punishment was abolished in 1863, and the penalty of death is now only inflicted on the sentences of courts-martial in cases of incendiarism and other crimes requiring special measures of repression. The *knout* has entirely disappeared as an instrument of punishment. The disabilities of the Jews have been removed; the commerce of the country, although still retarded in its development by one of the worst customs tariffs in Europe, has been relieved of many oppressive regulations, and thrown open to natives and foreigners alike; municipal charters have been conferred on St. Petersburg and Moscow; the liberty of speech and thought denied under the previous reign may now be fully exercised, except in the form of public meetings for political purposes; and the censorship of the press has been reduced to a mitigated form. Public instruction is being vigorously pursued, and education brought within the reach of the humblest. The universities and superior schools have been remodeled and deprived of their once semi-military character. A classical system of education has been promoted, and the clergy have been raised socially and intellectually, especially through the action of the Emperor in throwing open to the white or married clergy all those preferments and opportunities for becoming teachers, professors, or rectors of the colleges and universities which before 1869 were the exclusive per-

quisites of the black or celibate clergy, and the general distribution of the Scriptures which his uncle Alexander had encouraged, but which his father had repressed. The empire during the reign of Alexander II. has been conducted in the interests of peace, national prosperity, and good government, and it has recovered from the disasters of the Crimean war and the first reaction after emancipation. The insurrection in Poland and Lithuania in 1862–3 was put down with considerable severity; but that was inevitable under the circumstances; and though in the reign of Nicholas I. the Poles had really just cause of complaint and protest, they have only themselves to thank for what they have suffered under Alexander, for they spurned the hand that was held out to them in kindness and cordiality, and used his forbearance to carry out the most cruel and murderous conspiracies against his person, his throne, and his government. For a thousand years the Poles have been the bitter enemies of the Russians, and both nations have been alike unscrupulous; and though it is hard to say it, of a nation so gallant and brave as the Polish nation has at times shown itself, there was no alternative for it except humble submission, or utter extermination. The war which Russia has conducted for several years past in Central Asia has not been intentionally a war of conquest or for the extension of her territory, already too large to be well governed, but was necessary for the protection of its own people, harried by those Turkomans and Tartars, more savage but less cruel than their cousins, the Osmanlis of Turkey. The annexation of these chieftaincies and khanates has followed as a result, and a not altogether agreeable one, of the policy of repelling their raids and aggressions; but it has had at least one good effect, that of so far controlling them

PROMENADE OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

by fear (the only motive to which they seem to be amenable) as to make them more careful how they molest the subjects of Russia. The apprehension which has so thoroughly taken possession of the minds of the conservative party in Great Britain that Russia is intending to absorb in her vast empire all Southern Asia, and plant her double-headed eagles on Point de Galle or the shores of the Bay of Bengal, seems too absurd to be entertained for a moment by reasonable men. Russia has already more territory than she can profitably govern, and to draw to her standard the two hundred millions of India and Farther India, would be so gross a blunder, that no Russian statesman of ordinary astuteness is likely to make it. It is for her interest that the Asiatic continent should be divided nearly equally, so far as territory is concerned, between her and her insular neighbor, and it is too vast a heritage for either nation to quarrel with the other over. They can be, and in the natural order of things will be, mutual helpers of each other, especially in their course in regard to the great empire of China; but they have no more occasion to quarrel over their Asiatic possessions, than the twin stars or suns in the constellation of Orion have, over their paths in the heavens.

In regard to Turkey and the possession of Constantinople, there is a different condition of affairs. Russia would undoubtedly be willing to make great sacrifices to command and occupy the Black Sea, for which she cares more, *per se*, than she does for the possession of Constantinople and Asia Minor, which must follow it; but even here she has her limitations. The principalities and provinces lying west of the Black Sea and on both sides of the Danube, may possibly, nay probably, prefer Russian to Turkish rule; but there is no enthu-

siasm for Russia there; and even the Pansclavists, who are often regarded as the warmest friends and advocates of Russia, talk not so much of annexation to the empire of the Czar, as they do of a grand Sclavonic empire around the western portion of the Black Sea, and the lower Danube, which shall be self-governed, and composed of the Turkish provinces of Bulgaria, a portion of Albania, the Herzegovina, Bosnia, the Austrian provinces of Sclavonia, Dalmatia, etc., and the principalities of Servia, Roumania, and if possible, the little mountain state of Montenegro. This project is probably impracticable, but the very proposal shows how slight a hold Russia has upon these nationalities. Elsewhere we have shown what a diversity in religion, forms of government, and sympathy there is between different branches of the one Sclavonic family; and it is certain that, if ever Russia should be so foolish as to attempt to gather these diverse nationalities under her broad wings, she would find the undertaking one which would lead to her own destruction. Her policy of gaining territory at the east of the Black Sea is a far wiser one; not because it threatens Great Britain, for it does not, but because it will eventually give her the almost unlimited control of that great inland ocean. Her past history forbids us to regard Russia, or most of her rulers, in the category of saints, for the stains of blood are too evident on their hands; but as certainly, she is not the chief of sinners; and the course of her present monarch gives us good grounds for believing, that she is trying to rise to a higher and purer civilization than has been possible for her in the past. In this respect, as well as in many others, she has the advantage of Turkey, whom no tribulation has the power to improve, no discipline to cultivate, no school of adversity or prosperity to civilize.

Under the "law of progress" so often enunciated at the present day—"the survival of the fittest"—there is hope and cheer for Russia—though none for her adversary.

CHAPTER III.

RUSSIA—ITS GEOGRAPHY, EXISTING RACES, RELIGION, AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Every thing in Russia is on so vast a scale that we stand appalled at the very beginning of our review of it by the immensity which threatens to enshroud us.

Its area, (8,444,766 square miles) is almost two and a half times that of our own country, and is reckoned to be one seventh of the entire land upon the globe and about one twenty-sixth of its entire surface. It extends in Europe, from the Arctic Ocean and the Frozen Sea to the Black Sea, the ancient Euxine, and from the Baltic and the eastern boundaries of Germany and Austria to the Ural Mountains and river, and the shores of the Caspian Sea; while its Asiatic domain stretches from the Ural to the Behring Sea and from the Frozen Ocean to the Hindoo Koosh, the Thian Shan and the Altai ranges of mountains, and the Amoor River. Its population, almost 86 millions, averages about 10 persons to the square mile, while European Russia, which more immediately concerns us, has a population of 34 persons to the mile.

Yet European Russia, stretching northward to about the 72d degree of north latitude, has its vast plains and broken lands of snow and ice, where only the dwarf birch and the reindeer moss grows, and where the sun does not descend below the horizon in summer for weeks, nor rise above it in mid-winter for as long a time—fearful lands of ice and sleet, and fog, where all nature

seems out of course, and where Samoyede and Lapp and Finn, with their closely packed huts of snow, ice, or logs in winter, and their tents of reindeer skin in summer, make their homes, now on the plains or mountains, and now by the fiords or estuaries of the streams, from which they procure seals, walrus, and fish in summer, while their winter diet is of the flesh of the seal and reindeer, and the milk of the latter, with the reindeer moss and the birch bark, and some black bread, which they obtain from provinces farther south.

The Finns and Lapps are kindred races, short, stout, and hardy, and possibly allied to our Esquimaux or Innuits, whom they somewhat resemble, though many of them are educated and intelligent. The Samoyede is lower in the scale, nearer to our tribes of Indians in the extreme north, of uncleanly habits, accustomed to eat his flesh raw—and of but scanty intelligence. He is the slave or drudge of the Finns, whom he serves with fidelity, if not with willingness. All these races are exceedingly superstitious, and their religion is mingled with so much of the old northern mythologies, that it is difficult to recognize in it, at times, much of the religion of the Bible. Their language and their theology are not Russian, but they have mingled their superstitious fear of witches and goblins with some of the dogmas and worship of the Greek Church, and call themselves orthodox. It is doubtful if the Finn is very nearly related to the Sclavonic races. He certainly bears but a remote resemblance to them.

Passing south from this region of the wintry deserts, where no tree can grow, and only shadows are afforded by the huge rocks, ice-covered in winter, we cross the Arctic circle and come into the region of lakes, gulfs, and ice-bound rivers, the country of the White or Frozen Sea,

of the broad gulfs, bays, lakes with their numerous islets, and of the rivers which flow northward; a region gloomy and partially covered with vast forests, but having its towns and villages, its commerce and its fields of rye, oats, and barley.

From Onega at the southern termination of the gulf of the same name, one of the arms of the White Sea, to Perm, far eastward, almost at the foot-hills of the Ural Mountains, in latitude 58 N., and thence westward to Yaroslav, a region as large as the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, is a country inhabited by an undoubted Sclavonic race; a country colonized from Novgorod the Great, a free city and a free republic through the earlier centuries of our era, where nobility and serfdom were alike unknown. To this race belonged the pilots of the White Sea; the farmers who brought their rye for black bread down the Dwina to the ports of the Frozen Sea, and their oats and flax; the herdsmen, who found, in the same quarter, a market for their tallow and hides, and the lumbermen who brought thither their tall masts of giant pine, their oaken planks, their tar, and mats, their deals and logs for building dwellings and forts, huts and chapels, in that treeless land. Archangel, the port most frequented on this White Sea, is at the mouth of the Dwina, whose channel, silted up by the violent storms of the winter, changes so often, that all vessels trading thither are compelled to take a pilot. It is a strange town, remarkable for many things, but most of all, for its strange vicissitudes, and its intensely religious character. It dates from the sixteenth century, and owes its origin to the enterprise of English seamen and adventurers. It was first built as a fort and town by Ivan the Fourth, better known as Ivan the Terrible, and by him named the New Castle of St. Michael the

RUSSIAN NORTH SEA PILOT.

Archangel, a name shortened by the Russians, partly from reverence and partly from aversion to its length, to Archangel. Ivan built it of wood, of logs, which decayed after the lapse of a hundred years; but Peter the Great rebuilt it of brick, and employed masons brought from Holland. In later days it has been again rebuilt, and in its double character, of the only truly Russian port, and of the city which is the special favorite of the Archangel, whom all devout Russians adore as next to the Almighty, it is one of the most notable places in Russia. Hither come, on their way to Solovetsk, an island of the White Sea, where are the holy tombs, pilgrims from all portions of Russia, men and women, whose feet have pressed the holy places of Bethlehem and Calvary, of Nazareth, and also of Kief, of Moscow and the shrines, which to the Russians are scarcely less sacred than those of Palestine; and mingling with them are Scandinavian, English, Scottish and American sailors and traders, and Germans, Austrians, Hollanders, each, intent on his own business, yet wondering at the grotesqueness of the costumes, and the strangeness of the manners and customs, which meet him at every turn.

At this point, perhaps as well as at any other, we may learn something of the religious character of the Russian. Erroneous as in our view may be some of the doctrines and practices of the Muscovite, we cannot fail to see that to him, his religion is the great business of his life. His devotion is of the Oriental type, earnest, fanatical even, and unreasoning; but with all its intensity, it is very often entirely divorced from morality. A devout Russian of the peasant class sees nothing wrong in the commission of even great crimes; but if he has failed in one jot or tittle of the ceremonials due to the worship of a saint or the observance of what he regards as the essentials of

his ritual, he regards himself as having committed a mortal sin. W. Hepworth Dixon, a distinguished English writer, has given a most interesting description of the religious life of a Russian peasant, a part of which we know will delight our readers:

"The first impulse in a Russian heart is duty to God. It is an impulse of observance and respect; at once moral and ceremonial; an impulse with an inner force and an outer form; present in all ranks of society, and in all situations of life; in an army on the march, in a crowd at a country fair, in a lecture-room full of students; showing itself in a princess dancing at a ball, in a huckster writing at his desk, in a peasant tugging at his cart, in a burglar rioting on his spoil.

"This duty adorns the land with fane and altar, even as it touches the individual man with penitential grace. Every village must have its shrine, as every child must have his guardian angel and baptismal cross. The towns are rich in churches and convents, just as the citizens are rich in spiritual gifts. I counted twenty spires in Kargopol, a city of two thousand souls. Moscow is said to have four hundred and thirty churches and chapels; Kief, in proportion to her people, is no less rich. All public events are celebrated by the building of a church. In Kief, St. Andrew's Church commemorates the visit of an apostle; St. Mary's, the introduction of Christianity. In Moscow, St. Vassili's commemorates the conquest of Kazan; the Donskoi Convent, Theodore's victory over the Crim Tartars; St. Saviour's, the expulsion of Napoleon. In Petersburg, St. Alexander's commemorates the first victory won by Russians over Swedes; St. Isaac's, the birth of Peter the Great; Our Lady of Kazan's, triumphs of Russian arms against the Persian, Turk, and Frank. Where we should build a

bridge, the Russians raise a house of God: so that their political and social history is brightly written in their sacred piles.

"By night and day, from his cradle to his grave, a Russian lives, as it were, with God; giving up to His service an amount of time and money which no one ever dreams of giving in the West. Like his Arabian brother, the Sclavonian is a religious being; and the gulf, which separates such men from the Saxon and the Gaul, is broader than a reader, who has never seen an Eastern town, will readily picture to his mind.

"An Oriental is a man of prayer. He seems to live for heaven and not for earth; and even in his commonest acts, he pays respect to what he holds to be a celestial law. One hand is clean, the other unclean. One cup is lawful, another cup is unlawful. If he rises from his couch, a prayer is on his lips; if he sits down to rest, a blessing is in his heart. When he buys and when he sells, when he eats and when he drinks, he remembers that the Holy One is nigh. If poor in purse, he may be rich in grace; his cabin a sanctuary, his craft a service, his daily life an act of prayer.

"Enter into a Russian shed—you find a chapel. Every room in that shed is sanctified; for in every room there is a sacred image, a domestic altar, and a household god. The inmate steps into that room with reverence; standing for a moment at the threshold, baring his head, crossing himself, and uttering a saintly verse. Once in the house, he feels himself in the Presence, and every act of his life is dedicated to Him in whom we live and move. 'Slava Bogu'—Glory to God—is a phrase forever on his lips; not as a phrase only, to be uttered in a light vein, as a formal act, but with an inward bending and confession of the soul. He fasts very much, and pays a

respect, beyond our measure, to sacred places and to sacred things. He thinks day and night of his angel; and payments are made by him at church for prayers to be addressed, in his name, to that guardian spirit. He finds a divine enjoyment in the sound of cloister-bells, a foretaste of heaven in kneeling near the bones of saints. The charm of his life is a profound conviction of his own unworthiness in the sight of God, and no mere pride of rank ever robs him of the hope, that some one, higher in virtue than himself, will prove his advocate at the throne of grace. He feels a rapture, strange to a Frank, in the cadence of a psalm, and the taste of consecrated bread is to him a fearful joy. Such things are to him not only things of life and death, but of the everlasting life and the ever-present death.

"The church is with a Russian early and late. A child is hardly considered as born into the world, until he has been blessed by the Pope * and made by him a 'servant of God.'

"As the child begins, so he goes on. The cross which he receives in baptism—which he receives in his cradle, and carries to his grave—is but a sign. Religion goes with him to his school, his play-ground, and his workshop. Every act of his life must begin with supplication and end with thanks. A school has a set of prayers for daily use; with forms to be used on commencing a term, on parting for holidays, on engaging a new teacher, on opening a fresh course. It is the same with boys who work in the mill and on the farm. Every one has his office to recite and his fast to keep. The fasting is severe; and more than half the days in a Russian year are days of fasting and humiliation. During the seven weeks before Easter, no flesh, no fish, no milk, no eggs, no butter, can

* *Pope*, the Russian name for priest.

be touched. For five or six weeks before St. Peter's Day, and for six weeks before Christmas Day, no flesh, no milk, no eggs, no butter, can be used. For fifteen days in August, a fast of great severity is held in honor of the Virgin's death. A man must fast on every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, eating nothing save fish. Besides keeping these public fasts, a man should fast the whole week before making his confession and receiving his sacrament; abstaining from every dainty, from sugar, cigarettes, and every thing cooked with fire.

"On the eve of Epiphany—the day for blessing the water—no one is suffered to eat or drink until the blessing has been given, about four o'clock, when the consecrated water may be sipped, and dinner must be eaten with a joyful heart. To fetch away the water, people carry into church their pots and pans, their jacks and urns; each peasant with a taper in his hand, which he lights at the holy fire, and afterwards burns before his angel until it dies.

"Every new house in which a man lives, every new shop which he opens for trade, must be blessed. A man who moves from one lodging to another, must have his second lodging purified by religious rites. Ten or twelve times a year, the parish priest, attended by his reader and his deacon, enters into every house in his district, sprinkles the rooms with holy water, cleanses them with prayer, and signs them with the cross.

"In his marriage, on his dying bed, the Church is with a Russ even more than at his birth and baptism. Marriage, held to be a sacrament, and poetically called a man's coronation, is a long and intricate affair, consisting of many offices, most of them perfect in symbolism as they are lovely in art. Prayers are recited, rings exchanged,

and blessings invoked; after which the ceremony is performed; an actual circling of the brows with a golden rim. 'Ivan, servant of God,' cries the Pope, as he puts the circlet on his brows, 'is crowned with Nadia, handmaid of God.' The bride is crowned with Ivan, servant of God.

"Some people wear their bridal crowns for a week, then put them back into the sacristy, and obtain a blessing in exchange. Religion touches the lowliest life with a passing ornament. The bride is always a queen, the groom is always a king, on their wedding-day.

"A man's angel is with him early and late; a spirit with whom he dares not trifle; one whom he can never deceive. He puts a picture of this angel in his bed-room, over the pillow on which he sleeps. A light should burn before that picture day and night. The angel has to be propitiated by prayers, recited by a consecrated priest. His day must be strictly kept, and no work done, except works of charity, from dawn to dusk. A feast must be spread, the family and kindred called under one roof, presents made to domestics, and alms dispensed to the poor. On his angel's day a man must not only go to church, but buy from the priests some consecrated loaves, which he must give to servants, visitors, and guests. On that day he should send for his parish priest, who will bring his gospel and cross, and say a prayer to the angel, for which he must be paid a fee according to your means. A child receives his angel's name in baptism, and this angelic name he can never change. A peasant who was tried in the district court of Moscow on a charge of having forged a passport and changed his name, in order to pass for another man, replied that such a thing could not be done. 'How,' he asked in wonder, 'could I change my name? I should lose my angel. I only forged my place of birth.'

"So closely have religious passions passed into social life, that civil rights are made to depend in no slight degree on the performance of religious duties. Every man is supposed to attend a weekly mass, and to confess his sins, and take a sacrament once a year. A man who neglects these offices forfeits his civil rights, unless, as sometimes happens in the best of cities, he can persuade his Pope to give him a certificate of his exemplary attendance in the parish church!"

Having described the religious tendencies of the Russian, and our description applies not only to Old Russia or Russia Proper, but to all of Sclavonic Russia, it remains to speak of the distinguishing doctrines and polity of the Greek Church, and its hierarchy.

The Greek Church does not acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope of Rome, and, in one sense, has no substitute, to which it pays a like allegiance. There have been three epochs in the government of the Russian Church. At first it had a foreign head, the patriarch in Constantinople, who appointed the Metropolitan of Kief and afterwards of Moscow; during the second period, commencing in 1589, it was governed by a patriarch appointed by the Czar, but nearly independent; but during the present century the direction of the church has been transferred to the Emperor. In his function of protector or defender of the church, the Emperor exercises the external functions of his office, in even a greater degree than the Pope; he appoints to every office in the church, though usually consulting the Metropolitan of Moscow in the more important appointments, and leaving to the bishops and prelates the privilege of proposing candidates; and he transfers and dismisses persons from their offices in certain cases. He exercised his authority in these matters a few years since in a matter of great

importance—the promotion of the white or parochial clergy, who are married, to several positions of great importance and influence in the church which had previously only been filled by the monks or celibate clergy, known throughout Russia as the black clergy. He also vested the nomination of the rectors and heads of seminaries and academies in the professors of such institutions instead of in the black clergy. But the Emperor never attempts to decide any theological or dogmatic questions, as the Pope uniformly does. These questions are submitted in the first instance to the Metropolitan of Moscow, who is generally a man of the highest theological learning and eminence in the church, and in those cases in which he feels unwilling to decide, as in a case of alleged heresy, reference is made to the Holy Synod, and in the last resort to the four Eastern Patriarchs or to a grand Ecumenical Council to be called by them. When their decision is given it stands as the judgment of the church and must be executed by the Emperor.

The clergy, as already noticed, are of two classes, the white or parochial clergy, who may be the husbands of one wife, but may not contract a second marriage, and who, until 1869, were poor, often ignorant, always hard worked, and had no chance of obtaining any of the higher preferments. These were altogether in the hands of the monks —the cowled or black clergy—who were celibates, and who claimed, as their exclusive right, all the higher offices and preferments of the church. Perhaps no one of Alexander's many reforms has been of greater importance and benefit to the whole nation than that by which he has opened the way to the higher positions, to the white or married clergy. He has by this measure roused their self-respect, given them more hopefulness and greater inducements to study and improvement, and has dealt a

BAPTISMAL CEREMONY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

severe blow to priestly celibacy, which was fast sapping the life of the Greek Church. The parochial clergy, of whom there are about 70,000, are called by the people "Popes." The number of Dioceses is thirty-eight, of cathedrals about 500, and of churches of the orthodox or established faith, about 29,000. There are also about 550 convents, of which 480 are for men and 70 for women. The free reading and study of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, which was encouraged by Alexander I., but discouraged and mostly prohibited by Nicholas I., has been greatly increased under the administration of Alexander II. The black clergy are said to oppose it, but the parochial clergy favor it.

The Greek Church practices Pædobaptism, but all its candidates, whether adults or infants, are immersed three times, and anointed with the chrism or holy oil.* It allows masses to be said, permits the worship of the Virgin Mary, whose "icon"—image or portrait—is found in every dwelling, and the worship also of innumerable saints and angels. The name given to a child is always that of his guardian angel, and he may not change it. No member of the Russo-Greek Church is permitted to renounce his creed, and when a marriage takes place between one of its members and a person belonging to another faith, the authorities require a pledge that the children shall be brought up in the Orthodox faith. The number of members of the Orthodox Greek Church in European Russia is stated as about 54,000,000.

The Old Believers or Old Ritualists, who seceded from the Church, on the accession of Nikon, the Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Greek Church, at Moscow, in the

* An exception is made in the case of infants who are very feeble or supposed to be dying, in which cases affusion or sprinkling is permitted to be substituted. It should be said that the Greek Church holds firmly to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

seventeenth century, are a very powerful body. They hold to the doctrines of the Greek Church, but not to the ritual as modified by Nikon* and the emperors of later

* The Patriarch *Nikon* is a prominent figure in the religious history of the Russian people. He was born near Nijni Novgorod, about 1605, of humble and obscure parentage. In his youth he had spent some time in a monastery, but afterward married, and ten years later, their children having died, and his home-life being unhappy, he persuaded his wife to enter a convent in Moscow, and himself craved a home and shelter in the monastery at Solovetsk. Here he quarreled with the monks and the prior, and was finally expelled and set adrift in a canoe. He was driven on the shore of Onega Bay, and after a time his austerity won him the confidence of the people, and he built a church at Voskresensk, in 1655. The Czar Alexis was present at its consecration, and named it, at his desire, "the Church of the New Jerusalem." Nikon attempted to imitate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and its surroundings, but before long, the Czar, who had taken a fancy to him, made him Archimandrite, Bishop, Metropolite, and Patriarch. Once seated in the Patriarchal chair, this illiterate monk resolved to rule the Church most rigorously. One of his first acts was to procure from the Patriarch of Constantinople, copies of the most ancient manuscripts of the Bible, and of the books of Ritual, Prayers, and "Icons," or paintings of the Virgin Mary, the Saints, etc., in use in the Greek Church of Constantinople at that time. These he caused to be translated into Russian, and compared with the books, etc., then in use in Russia. Finding considerable corruptions, as he thought, in the old books, he ordered these old books to be called in and delivered up to him to be destroyed, and supplied the new copies of the Bible, Ritual, and "Icons," which he had had printed, in their place. This gave great dissatisfaction to the clergy and the people, who were strongly attached to the old rituals, and they resisted the innovation with great obstinacy, and denounced Nikon as a heretic. The monks at Solovetsk refused to give up their old books, destroyed the new ones, fortified themselves, and fought it out for seven years, when they were at last overcome by treachery, and all put to death. Elsewhere the same resistance was offered to the New Ritual, and thousands suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Old Ritual. These opposers of Nikon eventually formed themselves into a sect called the Old Believers, Old Ritualists, or in Russian, Raskolniks, which has since largely increased, as stated in the text. "The Priestless People" are a division of these Raskolniks, and several other sects have come out from them.

Nikon was so elated by his sudden elevation that he became very haughty, overbearing, and insolent to the Czar Alexis, and finally, when the Czar refused, on a great festival of the Church, to come to the Cathedral, he threw off his episcopal robes, resigned his crosier, and, attired as a monk, went back to his monastery at Voskresensk, expecting the Czar to recall him. As he was not recalled, however, he came back, in 1664, after six years, and attempted to resume his place, but was brought before a Council of the Eastern Patriarchs, tried, degraded, and banished to the monastery of Theropontoff, in Novgorod. He was pardoned by the next Czar, in 1681, but died on his way down the Volga to meet the Czar.

days. They do not drink intoxicating liquors nor use tobacco, and though austere in their lives, have a high reputation for integrity and purity of life, for charity, and devotion. They are very close students of the Scriptures. Dixon estimates their numbers, including "the Priestless People," a sect which is affiliated with them, at from 11,000,000 to 17,000,000. Wallace, a more recent, and perhaps better authority, puts the number at seven or eight millions. Other Protestant and Fanatical sects he thinks may number three millions more, but this is probably an under estimate. There are about seven millions of Roman Catholics, 2,600,000 Jews, nearly as many Mahometans, and over 250,000 Pagans.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.

The political organization of the empire is wholly unlike that of any other country. There are really two distinct organizations, one within the other, and though not in conflict with each other, yet each independent of the other, and one of them in many particulars independent of all other authority. The commune, or *mir*, is a village republic, resembling in many particulars the New England town or parish, but far more primitive and independent in its character. A number of families, each having its patriarch or head, and often three or four generations of descendants, unite together for mutual protection, and form a village in some of the vast plains or forests of Russia, taking up for their accommodation such quantity of land as they are likely to need, and build their log huts or dwellings upon it. The land is always held in common, and a re-distribution to every householder is made every three years. The villagers meet once a year or oftener, and

choose an elder, usually the richest and most intelligent peasant of their number, who serves without pay, but is invested with almost absolute authority, and rules the village with great rigor, though generally with justice. This Elder, called in Russian Starosta, is held responsible for every thing, but is very seldom deposed. A group of such villages is called a canton, and a number of cantons compose a volost. The power of these village republics or communes over their citizens is complete, and sometimes works great injustice. If a man has had the misfortune from any cause to make himself odious to his neighbors, they can "cry a meeting," summon him to appear, and find him worthy to be expelled. To effect this, they have only to vote to give him up to the police, and send him to the nearest district town. Thus cast out, he has no means of redress. The provincial governor cannot force the commune to receive him again, even though he may be perfectly innocent of the charges against him; he can only send him to the army to be enlisted in a Circassian regiment, or to the government service in the mines of Siberia. The works of recent writers on Russia are full of illustrations of the workings of these communes. From Hepworth Dixon's description of them, we quote the following:

"In the more serious cases dealt with by courts of law, a commune has the power of reviewing the sentence passed, and even of setting it aside.

"Some lout (say) is suspected of setting a barn on fire. Seized by his elder and given in charge of a police, he is carried up to the assize town, where he is tried for his alleged offense, and after proof being given on either side, he is acquitted by the jury and discharged by the judge. It might be fancied that such a man would return to his cabin and his field, protected by the courts.

But no; the commune, which has done him so much wrong already, may complete the injury by refusing to receive him back. A meeting may review the jurors and the judge, decline their verdict, try the man once more in secret, and condemn him, in his absence, to the loss—not simply of his house and land—but of his fame and caste. If he becomes a drunkard, the villagers complain of him at their village assembly, and punish him, or prohibit his intemperance, for they have to pay his taxes, if he cannot.

"The communes have other, and not less curious, rights. No member of a commune can quit his village without the general leave, without a passport signed by the elder, who can call him home without giving reasons for his acts. The absent brother must obey, on penalty of being expelled from his commune; that is to say—in a Russian village, as in an Indian caste—being flung out of organized society into infinite space.

"Nor can the absent member escape from this tribunal by forfeiting his personal rights. An elder grants him leave to travel in very rare cases, and for very short terms; often for a month, now and then a quarter, never for more than a year. That term, whether long or short, is the limit of a man's freedom; when it expires, he must return to his commune, under penalty of seizure by the police as a vagabond living without a pass.

"A village parliament is holden once a year, when every holder of house and field has the right to be heard. The suffrage is general, the voting by ballot. Any member can bring up a motion, which the elder is compelled to put. An unpopular elder may be deposed, and some one else elected in his stead. Subjects of contention are not lacking in these peasant parliaments; but the fiercest battles are those fought over roads,

imperial taxes, conscripts, wood-rights, water-rights, whisky licenses, and the choice of lots at the re-distribution.

"What may be termed the external affairs of the village—highways, fisheries, and forest-rights—are settled, not with imperial officers, but with their neighbors of the canton and the volost. The canton and the volost treat with the general, governor, and police. A minister looks for what he needs to the association, not to the separate members, and when rates are levied and men are wanted, the canton and the volost receive their orders and proceed to raise alike the money and the men. The crown has only to send out orders; and the money is paid, the men are raised. A system so effective and so cheap, is a convenience to the ministers of finance and war so great, that the haughtiest despots and the wisest reformers have not dared to touch the interior life of these peasant commonwealths.

"Thus the village system remains a thing apart, not only from the outer world, but from the neighboring town. The men who live in these sheds, who plow these fields, who angle in this lake, are living by an underived and original right. Their law is an oral law, their charter bears no seal, their franchise knows no date. They vote their own taxes, and they frame their own rules. Except in crimes of serious dye, they act as an independent court. They fine, they punish, they expel, they send unpopular men to Siberia; and even call up the civil arm in execution of their will.

"Friends of these rustic republics urge as merits in the village system, that the men are peers, that public opinion governs, that no one is exempt from the general law, that rich men find no privilege in their wealth. All this sounds well in words; and probably in seven or eight cases out of ten the peasants treat their brethren fairly;

though it will not be denied that in the other two or three cases gross and comical burlesques of justice may be seen. I hear of a man being flogged for writing a paragraph in a local paper, which half, at least, of his judges could not read. Still worse, and still more flagrant, is the abuse of extorting money from the rich. A charge is made, a meeting cried, and evidence heard. If the offender falls on his knees, admits his guilt, and offers to pay a fine, the charge is dropped. The whole party marches to the whisky shop, and spends the fine in drams. Now the villagers know pretty well the brother who is rich enough to gives his rubles in place of baring his back; and when they thirst for a dram at some other man's cost, they have only to get up some flimsy charge on which that yielding brother can be tried. The man is sure to buy himself off. Then comes the farce of charge and proof, admission and fine; followed by the drinking bout, in which from policy the offender joins; until the virtuous villagers, warm with the fiery demon, kiss and slobber upon each other's beards, and darkness covers them up in their drunken sleep.

"In Moscow I know a man, a clerk, a thrifty fellow, born in the province of Tamboff, who has saved some money, and the fact coming out, he has been thrice called home to his village, thrice accused of trumpery offenses, thrice corrected by a fine. In every case, the man was sentenced to be flogged; and he paid his money, as they knew he would, to escape from suffering and disgrace. His fines were instantly spent in drink. A member of a village republic who has prospered by his thrift and genius finds no way of guarding himself from such assaults, except by craftily lending sums of money to the heads of houses, so as to get the leading men completely into his power.

"In spite of some patent virtues, a rural system which

compels the more enterprising and successful men to take up such a position against their fellows in actual self-defense, can hardly be said to serve the higher purposes for which societies exist.

"That the communes have some virtues may be safely said. A minister of war and a minister of finance are keenly alive to these virtues, since a man who wishes to levy troops and taxes, in a quick, uncostly fashion, finds it easier to deal with fifty thousand, elders than with fifty million peasants. A minister of justice thinks with comfort of the host of watchful, unpaid eyes that are kept in self-defense on such as are suspected of falling into evil ways. These virtues are not all, not nearly all. A rural system in which every married man has a stake in the soil, produces a conservative and pacific people. No race on earth clings to old ways or prays for peace so fervently as the Russian villager. Where each man is a landholder, abject poverty is unknown; and Russia has scant need for poor-laws and work-houses, since she has no such misery in her midst as a permanent pauper class. Every body has a cabin, a field, a cow; perhaps a horse and cart. Even when a fellow is lazy enough and base enough to ruin himself, he cannot ruin his sons. They hold their place in the communes as peers of all, and when they grow up to man's estate they will obtain their lots, and set up life on their own account. The bad man dies and leaves to his province no legacy of poverty and crime. The communes cherish love for parents, and respect for age. They keep alive the feeling of brotherhood and equality, and inspire the country with a sentiment of mutual dependence and mutual help."

It may be added that the villagers are the most loyal of all the subjects of the Czar, and believe their village

or communal government the pattern of that of the empire. "If," says the village patriarch, "a patriarch is not to rule his house" (and he generally does rule it with the stick, raining his blows upon wife, sons or daughters, or daughters-in-law, on the slightest disobedience to his commands), how is the Elder to rule his village, the Governor his province, the Czar his empire? All authorities stand or fall together." On the other side they foster a parish spirit, tend to separate village from town, strengthen the ideas of caste and class, and favor that worst delusion in a country, of there being a State within a State.

With one more illustration of this patriarchal sway, and this time from the marriage customs, we pass to the other form of political organization—THE TOWN.

In these communes, love has little to do with marriage. The young man, before he is married (and they are generally wedded at a tender age), may perhaps have flirted with some village maiden for whom he had a fancy, and possibly there may have been a reciprocal affection, and an intimacy which was beyond the bounds of lawful love; but this does not injure the character of the girl, nor has it any thing to do with his marriage. *That* is settled between the patriarch, his father, and the proposeress, a village witch, who acts as the go-between in these matters, and to whom the village girls confide the lists of what household stuff, what number of brass *samovars* (the Russian teapots), silver spoons, down quilts, and feather beds they have. The patriarch has an eye to the main chance. Little does it matter to him if the wife he chooses for his son is old or ugly, provided she is strong and healthy, able to do the drudgery of his household, and has a fair share of household stuff, of samovars and silver spoons. The lad is usually at

most not more than seventeen or eighteen (and Russian village lads are not precocious); the woman may be twenty-eight or thirty, and have lost all her good looks, if she ever had any; it matters not, and the boy consents, in fear of his father's stick. By and by, he will be a patriarch, and can rule his household in the same way.

The communes—*Mir* is their Russian designation—occupy about one-half of all the arable land of European Russia, and constitute about five-sixths of the population. In Southern Russia many of the communes are composed of "Old Believers," "the Priestless People," Mennonists, or the dissenting sects. In these, of course, there are varying shades of loyalty, and to some extent, varying customs and manners. As yet, there is no high farming, no scientific agriculture or horticulture, no manufacturing, and no commerce among the communes. How far the communal system is compatible with skillful farming does not yet appear.

Let us turn to the other system of politico-economical management, which though wholly distinct from the commune, and having very little connection with it, still is interwoven with it topographically, especially in Central and Southern Russia—the TOWN, the district, the province, the Imperial Administration. Russia proper (exclusive of Poland, Finland, the Baltic Provinces, and the Caucasus, each of which has a separate and peculiar administration of its own) is divided into forty-six provinces or "governments," as they are called; each government is divided into several districts, answering to our counties. In these the towns are of three classes, though each having much the same municipal organization—government towns, district towns, and supernumerary towns—or, as we should say, State capitals, county seats, and

other towns. There are in Russia Proper only 127 towns having more than 10,000 inhabitants, only 25 having more than 25,000, and only 11 with more than 50,000. With the exception of these large cities, all Russian towns have a common character, and when we have described two or three in different parts of the empire, we have described them all. A recent traveler in Russia gives the following picture of one of the river-side towns (and most of these towns are built on the banks of the rivers): "A fire-tower, a jail, a fish-market, a bazaar, and a cathedral, catch the eye at once. Above and below the town you see monastic piles. A bridge of boats connects the two banks, and a poorer suburb lies before the town. The port is crowded with smacks and rafts; the smacks bringing fish, the rafts bringing pines. What swarms of people on the wharf! How grave, how dirty, and how pinched they look! Their sadness comes of the climate, and their dirt is of the East. "Yes, yes!" you may hear a mujik (peasant) say to his fellow, speaking of some neighbor, "he is a respectable man—quite; he has a clean shirt once a week." The rustic eats but little flesh; his dinner, even on days that are not kept as fasts, being a slice of black bread, a gherkin, and a piece of dried cod. Just watch them, how they higgle for a kopeck! * A Russ craftsman is a fellow to deal with; ever hopeful and acquiescent; ready to please in word and act; but you are never sure that he will keep his word. He has hardly any sense of time and space. To him one hour of the day is like another, and if he has promised to make you a coat by ten in the morning, he cannot be got to see the wrong of sending it home by eleven at night.

The market reeks with oil and salt, with vinegar and

* About seven-tenths of a cent.

fruit, with the refuse of halibut, cods, and sprats. The chief articles of sale are rings of bread, salt gherkins, pottery, tin plates, iron nails, and images of saints. The street is paved with pools, in which lie a few rough stones, to help you in stepping from stall to stall. To walk is an effort; to walk with clean feet a miracle. Such filth is too deep for shoes.

A fish-wife is of either sex; and even when she belongs of right to the better side of human nature, she is not easy to distinguish from her lord by anything in her face and garb. Seeing her in the sharp wind, quilted in her sheep-skin coat, and legged in her deer-skin hose, her features pinched by frost, her hands blackened by toil, it would be hard to say which was the female and which the male, if Providence had not blessed the men with beards. By these two signs a Russ may be known from all other men—by his beard and by his boots; but since many of his female folk wear boots, he is only to be safely known from his partner in life by the bunch of hair upon his chin.

In the bazaar stand the shops; dark holes in the wall, like the old Moorish shops in Seville and Granada; in which the dealer stands before his counter, and shows you his poor assortment of prints and stuffs, his pots and pans, his saints, his candles, and his packs of cards. Next to rye bread and salt fish, saints and cards are the articles mostly bought and sold; for in Russia everybody prays and plays: the noble in his club, the dealer at his shop, the boatman on his barge, the pilgrim by his wayside cross. The propensities to pray and gamble may be traced to a common root: a kind of moral fetichism, a trust in the grace of things unseen, in the merit of dead men, and even in the power of chance. A Russian takes, like a child, to every strange thing, and prides himself

on the completeness of his faith. When he is not kneeling to his angel, nothing renders him so happy as the sight of a pack of cards.

Nearly every one plays high for his means; and nothing is more common than for a burgher to stake and lose, first his money, then his boots, his cap, his caftan, every scrap of his garments, down to his very shirt. Whisky excepted, nothing drives a Russian to the devil, so quickly as a pack of cards.

But see, these gamblers throw down their cards, unbonnet their heads, and fall upon their knees. The priest is coming down the street with his sacred picture, and his cross. It is market-day in the town, and he is going to open and bless some shop in the bazaar; and fellows, who were gambling for their shirts, are now upon their knees in prayer.

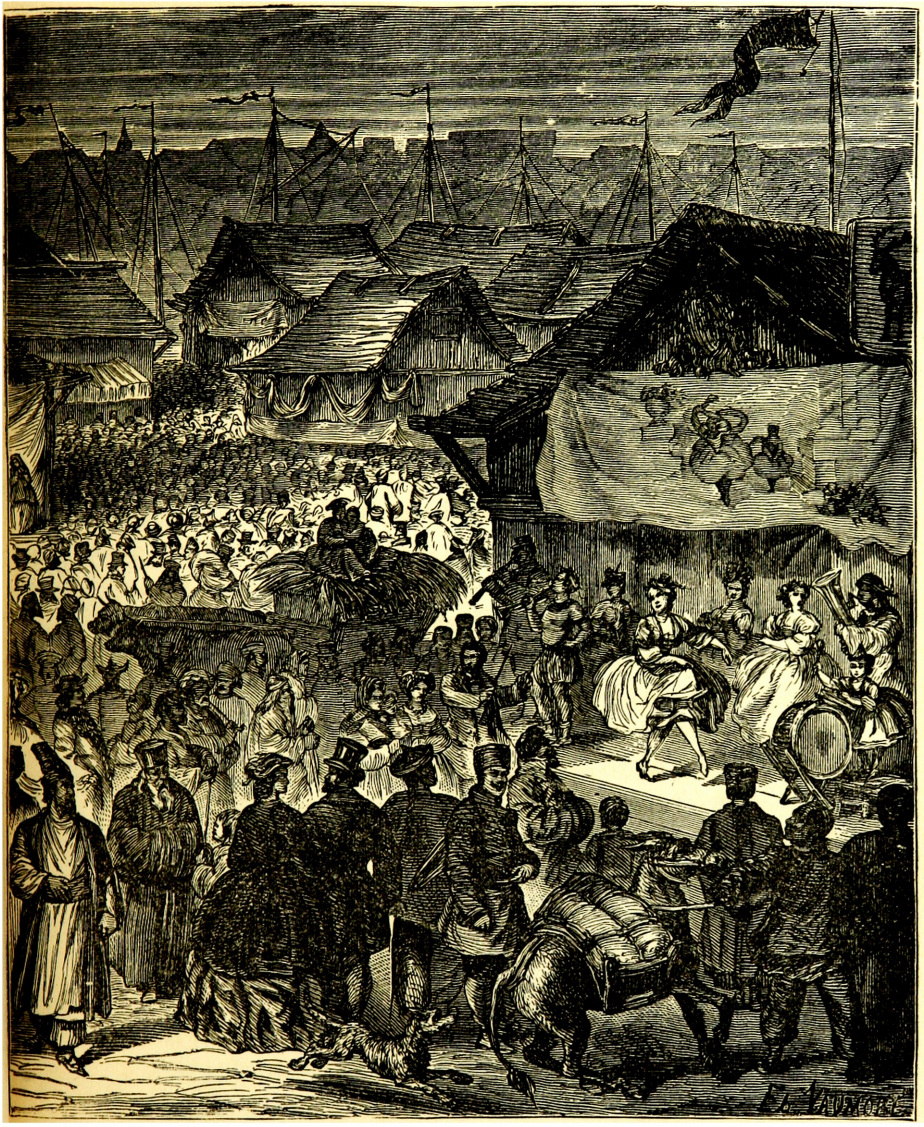
The rite by which a shop, a shed, a house, is dedicated to God is not without touches of poetic beauty. Notice must be given aforetime to the parish priest, who fixes the hour of consecration, so that a man's kinsfolk and neighbors may be present, if they like. The time having come, the priest takes down his cross from the altar, a boy lights the embers in his censer, and, preceded by his reader and deacon, the pope moves down the streets, through crowds of kneeling men and women, most of whom rise and follow in his wake, only too eager to catch so easily and cheaply some of the celestial fire.

Entering the shop or house, the pope first purges the room by prayer, then blesses the tenant or dweller, and lastly sanctifies the place by hanging in the "corner of honor" an image of the dealer's guardian angel, so that in the time to come no act can be done in that house or shop except under the eyes of its patron saint.

Though poor as art, such icons,* placed in rooms, have power upon men's minds. Not far from Tamboff lived an old lady who was more than commonly hard upon her serfs, until the poor wretches, maddened by her use of the whip and the black hole, broke into her room at night—some dozen men—and told her, with a sudden brevity, that her hour had come, and she must die. Springing from her bed, she snatched her image from the wall, and held it out against her assailants, daring them to strike the Mother of God. Dropping their clubs, they fled from before her face. Taking courage from her victory, she hung up the picture, drew on her wrapper, and followed her serfs into the yard, where, seeing that she was unprotected by her image, they set upon her with a shout, and clubbed her instantly to death.

In driving through the town we note how many are the dram-shops, and how many the tipsy men. Among the smaller reforms, under which the burgher has now to live, is that of a thinner drink. The Emperor has put water into the whisky, and reduced the price from fifteen kopecks a glass to five. The change is not much relished by the topers, who call their thin potation dechofka—cheap stuff; but simpler souls give thanks to the reformer for his boon, saying, "Is he not good—our Tsar—in giving us three glasses of whisky for the price of a single glass!" Yet, thin as it is, a nippet of the fiery spirit throws a sinner off his legs, for his stomach is empty, his nerves are lax, and his blood is poor. If he were better fed he would crave less drink. Happily a

* Icons are pictorial half-length representations of the Saviour, of the Madonna, or of a saint, executed in ancient Byzantine style, on a yellow or gold ground, and varying in size from a square inch to several square feet. Very often the whole picture, except the hands and face of the figure, is covered with thin sheets of metal embossed so as to represent the form of the figure and the drapery. Sometimes they are adorned with pearls and precious stones



THE GREAT FAIR OF NIJNI NOVGOROD.

Russian is not quarrelsome in his cups; he sings and smiles, and wishes to hug you in the public street. No richer comedy is seen on any stage than that presented by two tipsy mujiks riding on a sledge, putting their beards together, and throwing their arms about each other's neck. A happy fellow lies in the gutter, fast asleep; another, just as tipsy, comes across the roadway, looks at his brother, draws his own wrapper round his limbs, and asking gods and men to pardon him, lies down tenderly in the puddle by his brother's side.

The social instincts are, in a Russian, of exceeding strength. He likes a crowd. The very hermits of his country are a social crew—not men who rush away into lonely nooks, where, hidden from all eyes, they grub out caves into the rock and burrow under roots of trees; but brothers of some popular cloister, famous for its saints and pilgrims, where they drive a shaft under the convent wall, secrete themselves in a hole, and receive their food through a chink, in sight of wondering visitors and advertising monks.

With the exception of the larger cities and their suburbs, manufacturing is not conducted on a large scale in the Russian towns. There is now considerable manufacturing, in a small way, of textile fabrics, coarse cloths, the useful and peculiar material known as Russian felt, wooden vessels, pottery, leather (the Russian leather, which owes its fragrance to a tar made from the birch which is used in its tanning, and has an excellent reputation all over the world), malt and distilled liquors, including kvas or fermented drinks, and vodka or whisky, wrought iron, nails, cheap cutlery, and axes. The Russian sheet-iron is made in larger manufactories. The population of the towns consists of three classes, the merchants, the burghers, and the artisans. To these

may be added usually some noble families, a few clergymen (the popes, or in some of the towns the priests of the Old Believers, or some of the other dissenting sects), and government officials of the lower ranks.

These three classes do not form castes or guilds, for any man of sufficient capacity and property may pass from one to the other.

The merchant class are generally rich, but illiterate; fond of show in public, and ready to fawn upon any man who has money or official rank. The show rooms of their houses are large and gaudily decorated, while those in which they live are small and dirty. The women of this class dress very richly when they appear in public, which is but seldom. The merchants have a bad reputation for dishonesty in their dealings. The burgher class are more intelligent, enterprising, and as a rule more moral. The artisans are ingenious, skillful in the use of even inferior tools, and where manufacturing is conducted on a large scale, rapidly acquire the knowledge to make their productions successful. The agriculture in the suburbs of towns is carried on, much as it is in the communes, without much science, though the triennial rotation of crops is practiced; but very few Russian agriculturists are intelligent.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN RUSSIA.

The Russian is ingenious and skillful in the use of tools, and has a natural capacity for trading; and from these two traits in his character he is naturally drawn toward manufacturing or mercantile pursuits. His reckless and impulsive ways unfit him for the medical profession, and, with few exceptions, for the higher walks of science generally; so that, to use a Hibernicism, the best Russian physicians and scientists have been Germans. This is also true, to a considerable extent, of the applications of science to the useful arts, the best technologists, practical chemists, and manufacturers being Germans, of whom there are great numbers in the empire. The legal profession has never achieved any great success in Russia. Peter the Great is alleged to have said, when in England, that he had but two lawyers in his whole empire, and he thought of hanging one of them as soon as he returned home.

The mind of the Russian, however highly educated he may be, is too much occupied with petty details, to be capable of grasping great principles, either in law or theology. Some of the gravest charges made against the new (or rather the restoration of the old) ritual enforced by Nikon were, that it spelled the name of Jesus, "Iisus," instead of Isus, which was the previous form;

that the position of the fingers, in making the sign of the cross and in giving the benediction, were slightly changed; that the word Hallelujah was repeated three times, instead of twice, at certain places in the liturgy, and that he prohibited shaving of the beard. To this day these changes are regarded by that large body of dissenters in Russia, the *Raskolniks*, or Old Believers, as furnishing conclusive evidence that Nikon was the devil incarnate in human form.

To a people so wedded to even the smallest details of form, the discussion and consideration of great reforms in science, art, or politics, law or theology, is impossible, and they are, in consequence, the most conservative of nations; yet, by a sort of paradox, any religious creed, which, while adhering in the main to the old forms, abandons the great principles, which lie at the foundation of the Greek Church, is sure to find numerous adherents; and the grosser the delusion the more readily it is accepted. This intense conservatism in regard to forms, and indifference in regard to fundamental principles, was the greatest difficulty with which Alexander II. had to contend in the emancipation of the serfs, in 1861–64. The imperial family, it should be said, are, and have been for several generations, so thoroughly Germanized, that they have comparatively little sympathy with the purely Russian element among their people. Since the time of Peter the Great, and indeed before that time, they have almost invariably married German princesses, and Germans have been the favorites and counselors of the imperial court.

The abolition of serfage, and the emancipation of the serfs, was a very brave act, and one from which the ablest of the Russian emperors had shrunk. It had been agitated at times ever since the reign of Catherine II.,

but while the difficulties in the way of emancipation had come to be more clearly understood, and the fundamental principles, which would necessarily form the basis of any project for that purpose, were better comprehended, these difficulties and impediments were found to be so many and so formidable, that the conscientious Alexander I., and even the stern and resolute Nicholas I., could not summon sufficient courage to attempt the work.

When the Crimean war was ended, and Alexander II. had succeeded his father as Czar, his long-cherished desire, to effect this great measure of reform, began to manifest itself. The first expression of it occurred in his address to the marshals of the noblesse of Moscow, in March, 1856, in which he invited propositions from them as to the best methods of gradually accomplishing the work. This invitation brought no response. The noblesse of Moscow were averse to the curtailment of their privileges, or the sacrifice of their property.

But Alexander was too fully convinced of the necessity of the measure, and too strong in the affections of the nation, to be deterred by the indifference or hostility of even the haughty nobles of Moscow; and accordingly he created a secret committee, composed of the great officers of state, to investigate and report the principles on which emancipation should be effected. He appointed his brother Constantine, who entered into the measure with great heartiness, a member of this "Chief Committee for Peasant Affairs," in the hope of hastening their deliberations. The committee devoted six months to the study of the history of the question, and by their investigations brought out certain fundamental principles which would necessarily form the basis of all projects of emancipation, as well as certain difficulties which had hitherto been deemed insurmountable.

The chief of these principles was, that the State should not consent to any project which would uproot the peasant from the soil, and allow him to wander about at will; for such a measure would certainly render the collection of the taxes impossible, and in all probability produce the most frightful agrarian disorders. And to this general principle, there was an important corollary: If severe restrictions were to be placed on the free migration of the peasantry, it would be necessary to provide them with land in the immediate vicinity of the villages; otherwise they must inevitably fall back under the power of the proprietors, and a new and worse kind of serfage would thus be created. But in order to give land to the peasantry, it would be necessary to take it from the proprietors; and this act seemed to many, and among others to the members of this committee, who were nearly all great land-owners, an unjustifiable infringement on the sacred right of property. In the end it was found that the chief difficulty lay in altogether a different direction. The serfs fully believed that *they* owned the land, and that the landed proprietors were only tenants at will, to whom by the orders of the Czar they were paying tithes or dues, and that when emancipation was effected, and "they came to their own," these dues would be abrogated. An old peasant rhyme, freely translated, gives their idea of the relations which they supposed to exist between them and the land-holders or feudal lords:

"My soul is God's,
My land is mine,
My head's the Czar's,
My back is thine."

There was, indeed, some historic justification for this idea, which subsequently seriously complicated matters.

The Czar, finding that his secret committee were not

disposed to expedite matters, gave orders to take some decided step, and an opportunity soon offered to do this. He might, indeed, have emancipated the Crown serfs (who were somewhat more than half of the whole, or about twenty-three millions), and have allotted them land from the Crown lands; but while he was ready to do this as soon as it could be done safely, to have made this move in advance, would have raised the entire body of serfs of private proprietors in arms against their masters; and thus the good he sought to do, would have been turned to absolute evil.

The opportunity which offered was this: The Polish nobles in the Lithuanian provinces had been very hard and cruel masters, and had treated the peasant serfs with such severity and arbitrariness, that the Emperor Nicholas had been induced to limit their power over their serfs by so-called inventories, in which the mutual obligations of masters and serfs were regulated and defined. These inventories had caused great dissatisfaction to the nobles, who now began to clamor for their revision. The government professed to understand these demands of the proprietors as indicating that they wished to emancipate their serfs, and, accordingly, an imperial rescript, known as "the Rescript to Nazimof," was prepared, approving of their supposed desire, and empowering them to form committees for the preparation of definite projects. The word "emancipation" was studiously avoided in the rescript; but in the supplementary considerations it was expressly stated that "the abolition of serfage must be effected not suddenly but gradually." Four days later the Minister of the Interior, in accordance with a secret order from the Emperor, sent a circular to the governors and marshals of noblesse all over Russia Proper, informing them that the nobles of the Lithuanian provinces

"had recognized the necessity of liberating the peasants," and that "this noble intention" had afforded peculiar satisfaction to his Majesty. A copy of the rescript and the fundamental principles to be observed accompanied the circular, "in case the nobles of other provinces should express a similar desire." This circular produced an immense sensation throughout the country. The suggestion that the nobles of other provinces might possibly express a desire to liberate their serfs, coming from an autocrat, had a very definite and unmistakable meaning; and when, a few weeks later, the Emperor publicly expressed a hope, that with the help of God and the cooperation of the nobles, the work would be successfully accomplished, all understood that the die was cast.

The periodical press of the empire were, for the first time, unanimous and hearty in their approbation of emancipation, from which even the least sanguine predicted beneficial results for the nation; and the nobles, a majority of whom were enthusiastic for the measure as just, humane, and liberal, very speedily united in the appointment of a committee to consider the best methods of bringing about emancipation. Even those nobles of the old school, who were at heart opposed to it, offered no opposition and made no protest, for though they might lose a considerable portion of their income, they knew that the authority of the Czar was absolute, and that to resist it would draw down upon them his displeasure, without any compensating advantage, and might also rouse the peasant serfs to violence. They felt also that it was probable they would obtain better terms by taking a part in the suggestions of the plans for emancipation. The committees of the noblesse and land-holders, thus formed in 1858, in nearly every province where serfage existed, were guided in their deliberations by certain

fundamental principles, laid down by the government, among which were:

That for some time the serfs should remain attached to the glebe and subject to the authority of the proprietors, their emancipation being gradual; that during this transition period they should redeem by money payments or labor their houses and gardens, and enjoy in usufruct a certain quantity of land, sufficient to enable them to support themselves, and to fulfill their obligations to the State as well as to the proprietor. In return for this land, they should pay a yearly rent, in money, produce, or labor, over and above the yearly sum paid for the redemption of their houses and gardens. As to what should be done after the expiration of this transition-period, the government, at that time, seems to have had no very clearly-conceived intentions. These plans, though then considered fundamental, so far as the provincial committees were concerned, were subsequently modified in several particulars. As the committee of each province worked independently of every other, and as there were conflicting opinions in each committee, not only in regard to the details, but to the principles under which emancipation should take place, considerable time elapsed before they were ready to report, and then the Czar required that, as there were serious differences, each section of the committee should prepare a separate report. These reports were then intrusted to an imperial commission, composed partly of officials and partly of landed proprietors, named by the Emperor, and called the editorial or elaboration commission. It was the expectation of most of the noblesse, that this commission would merely arrange the materials presented to them, and that the emancipation law would thereafter be elaborated by a national assembly of deputies, elected by the nobles.

The Emperor had no such intention. The elaboration commission were directed to use these projects of the committees merely as a store-house, from which they could draw such propositions as they desired; but to elaborate a new project of their own, which they were to submit to him, and this project, after some modification of details by the Emperor, received his formal assent and became a law.

This act, thus drawn up under the Emperor's own supervision, differed materially from his first plans. It was no longer gradual emancipation, though the peasants were required to labor for a time on the lands; but in the agricultural districts, matters were settled between the landlord and the *mir* or commune, and not between the landlords and the individual peasants. The lands ceded in usufruct were made redeemable by the peasants, and it was provided that the usufruct should be perpetual, unless redeemed by the peasants. Fixed rates of dues were prescribed for the communal lands proper, and these dues were to be paid as might be agreed in money, in labor, or in kind; but provision was also made for the capitalization of these dues at the rate of six per cent., the government to pay over four-fifths of this to the proprietors, and the peasants, or, where it was possible, the communes the other fifth; the peasants or communes paying also to the government six per cent. interest annually, on the four-fifths which it had advanced, for a period of forty-nine years.

Many of the nobles were very much disappointed and dissatisfied, on finding that the government had taken the whole subject into its own hands, and they attempted to interfere, before the plan of the commission should become a law. They had been promised that deputies should be summoned from the provincial committees

to make objections and propose amendments; but when they came, they found that they were not allowed to hold meetings or to form a general assembly, but merely received a list of printed questions regarding matters of detail; all the great principles, they were told, had already been settled. For these details, they were called individually before the commission, and found their questioners more thoroughly masters of the subjects than they were. Other efforts on the part of the nobles to protest against the measure were checked by the government, sometimes very sternly; the Emperor reminding them very significantly, as he did his Committee for Peasant Affairs, and his Council of State, a little later, that in Russia, laws are made by the autocratic power; that the autocratic power created serfage, and the autocratic power ought to abolish it. On the 19th of February, 1861, the law was signed, and more than twenty millions of serfs—the serfs of the landed proprietors—were liberated. The State or Crown peasants or serfs had been placed in a transition condition by an imperial order of September 7, 1859, and their liberation was still further advanced by an order of October 23, 1861. But they did not come into the full enjoyment of all their privileges, so far as administration was concerned, until 1866. Their condition had always been much better than that of the serfs of the proprietors, and now they possess rather more land and have to pay somewhat lighter dues than the others. The Polish and Lithuanian serfs were not finally liberated until 1863 or 1864. The domestic serfs did not receive lands, but were to continue to serve their masters for two years, and then be absolutely free.

But, with the signing of this law, the actual difficulties of the work of emancipation began. The nobles

had lost their enthusiasm in regard to it, and many of them were hostile; but they knew that the Czar was absolute, and that resistance would only injure themselves. They therefore submitted, though somewhat ungraciously. Not so the serfs themselves. It would have been supposed that they, for whose especial benefit this great work had been undertaken, would have been not only grateful, but delighted; but, on the contrary, they were disappointed, and many of them dissatisfied. The Russian peasant is not at all sentimental. He cares nothing about liberty in the abstract, and it is a matter of perfect indifference to him whether he is called a serf, a slave, or a freeman, so he has a house to live in, food to eat, vodka (whisky) to drink, and his rude but warm clothing, and not too heavy taxes to pay. He may have had to take with these blessings, an occasional sound beating with the stick, but that was the seasoning to the good things which he enjoyed, and he did not much mind it.

Now, by the Emancipation Act, he found himself compelled to pay for his land, or at least for the interest on the purchase-money, although he had always held the notion—an incorrect one indeed, but none the less firmly held on that account—that the lands belonged to him, and that when emancipation came, he should not be required to pay anything for it, but the Czar would pay all the incomes of the land-proprietors. It was found impossible in many cases to persuade or drive the peasants to pay the one-fifth of the value of the land which the law required, or to pay any dues to their landlords. Provision was made in the Emancipation Law for the adjustment of these differences by the appointment of "Arbiters of the Peace," judicious and intelligent men, who did all in their power to instruct the peasants in regard to the benefits of emancipation; but, though they

succeeded in some cases, they were often suspected of sinister motives, and the opinion avowed that the Czar had never sent them and did not know what they were proposing, and that he would grant to the peasants another and complete decree of emancipation. The peasants failed to see that the Emancipation Law would be of any pecuniary benefit to them. They were required to give a certainty instead of an uncertainty, to pay money or its exact value, instead of an indefinite amount of personal service, which they could shirk if disposed, though perhaps at the risk of a beating. This money-tax or dues might be of more or less value, than the payment in labor, or in kind; but it was *money*, and *that* a Russian peasant dislikes to part with. Very absurd were the stories circulated among the serfs soon after their liberation, and their turbulence and riotous tendencies very often called for severe punishment. Mr. Wallace says, that rarely, if ever, had the serfs seen and experienced so much flogging as during the first three months after their liberation. In some instances they gathered in large numbers, not so much to resist the law, as to go to the Czar, and demand of him whether the Emancipation Law was not a forgery. Some of these gatherings were put down by the troops, and considerable numbers of the peasants killed.

The proprietors complained that the peasants were greedy, obstinate, untruthful, and dishonest; that they would not fulfill their contracts; and that their time was occupied in drinking their fiery vodka or whisky. The Arbiters of the Peace had a hard time with the complainants on both sides, but they were generally patient and trustworthy, and after some years the parties began to understand each other better, and to comprehend more fully their relative duties to each other.

It is now sixteen years since the law was signed, and about fourteen since it actually took effect. What have been the results of emancipation? Not as marked, perhaps, as in our own nation, for our slavery was more oppressive and severe, our slaves were of a different race from their masters, and our Emancipation Act was a result of the war, while the Russian was a deliberate measure, effected in time of peace.

Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace, who has made the Emancipation Law a study for six years, and has had exceptional advantages for studying it in all the provinces where serfage formerly existed, has recently recorded the results of his observation of this vexed question. He thinks that the land proprietors, who were solvent at the time of emancipation, are generally in the receipt of better incomes now than before the emancipation; that while the amount received for their lands has not, in all cases, been equal to their value, and the difficulty of procuring skilled labor has prevented their doing so well as they ought, they have generally received more profit from the half of their land which remains, than they formerly did from the whole. Where they have been obliged to lease their lands to speculators, because they could not cultivate them themselves, they have failed to make this arrangement very profitable. Those who were really insolvent, before emancipation, were driven to bankruptcy as a result of the law. On the whole, the land proprietors are generally contented with emancipation, although they are, even now, in a transition state. The serfs are, for the most part, contented with their lot. The communes perhaps sell less grain, and a smaller number of cattle; but their families eat white bread instead of black, their houses are in a better condition, the women and children dress better, and live better, and if the

mujik (peasant) drinks as much or more whisky, it is of better quality. The communes of Old Believers and Mennonites in the Black Earth region (Southern Russia), who do not drink intoxicating liquors, are growing wealthy under the new *régime*. The standard of morals is higher than before emancipation, and the rule of the Elders is less rigorous, especially over the women. Large patriarchal families, formerly the rule, are now the exception, and while there is an increase of religious dissent from the orthodox Church, yet it is not in the direction of mad and wild fanaticism, but of more simple and intelligent worship.

The Russian peasant has generally been loyal to the Czar, but now that he perceives the benefits of his emancipation, his loyalty is more intense, and his valor and fighting qualities, as a soldier, are much higher than they were in the Crimean war. Education is also much more general, and although the peasant class are still illiterate, they are far more intelligent than they were twenty years ago. In the wars of the last fifteen or twenty years, the success has invariably been gained by the "bayonets that think," and, as between the Russian and the Turk, the higher intelligence is certainly on the side of the Russian.

The Hon. M. E. Grant Duff, M. P., thus summarizes in a recent article in "The Nineteenth Century," the beneficial measures initiated by Alexander II. in the first ten years of his reign, and most of them since matured and made thoroughly effective:

"To say nothing of the emancipation of the serfs and the gradual creation of an enormous mass of free proprietors—surely one of the greatest changes for good which have ever been effected by a single act—we have the relaxation of the censorship, the reduction of the

price of passports from $400 to a figure which permits any one to travel, the abolition of several atrocious methods of punishment (and particularly of the knout), the institution of representative bodies for local matters (and the still more recent establishment of the Zemstvo), an amnesty, which restored to their country many of the victims of Nicholas, a humaner system in the navy, improvements in the universities, increased facilities for communication, and a generally gentler and more civilized spirit in the administration." To these may be added the thorough reorganization of the army on broad and just principles, the discarding of the brutal punishments formerly inflicted on the soldiers, and the social and intellectual elevation of the white, or parochial clergy, by their admission to the same offices and positions in educational and theological matters, as the black, or monastic clergy, who are celibates.

But in nothing, has the wisdom and extraordinary executive ability of the Czar been more manifest, than in his reforms in the judicial organization, and the local and general bureaucratic administration of the affairs of the realm. The old system of the administration of justice had become so intolerable from its cumbrousness, and the outrageous venality of those who conducted it, that the Emperor Nicholas could not endure it. This system has been swept away in the greater part of the empire, and will, before long, wholly disappear. The new judicial organization which has come to take its place has three different kinds of tribunals, all three having appellate jurisdiction, the lowest courts to the Assembly of Justices, the regular courts to the General Term of Associated Judges, and both to the Senate as the court of final resort. These are: the Justice of the Peace Courts, the regular Courts, and the Senate, which is the Supreme

Court of Revision. The trial by jury has been introduced in criminal cases, and though the juries at first made some laughable mistakes, such as bringing in a prisoner not guilty, with extenuating circumstances, and declaring a man acquitted when he confesses his crime; still, they generally decide with equity, if not always according to legal technicalities. They have in these new courts a code, which seems to work satisfactorily. The Bar of Russia is not in a satisfactory condition, either morally or intellectually.

The reforms in the local administration are very many and interesting. Each of the forty-six governments or provinces into which Russia is divided has a governor, vice-governor, and council. These governors were formerly entrusted with enormous power, and they often used it in a very arbitrary way. All this is now changed, and they are now for the most part, honest, upright people, possessing but circumscribed functions, but doing their duty in these, as well as they know how. They have at present nothing to do with the administration of justice, and many of the executive functions, formerly exercised by them, have been transferred to the Zemtsvo. What this Zemtsvo is, let Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace, the latest and ablest writer on Russian affairs, tell us.

The Zemtsvo (says Mr. Wallace) is a kind of local administration which supplements the action of the rural communes, and takes cognizance of those higher public wants which individual communes cannot possibly satisfy. Its principal duties are to keep the roads and bridges in proper repair, to provide means of conveyance for the rural police and other officials, to elect the justices of peace, to look after primary education and sanitary affairs, to watch the state of the crops, take measures against approaching famine, and in short to

undertake, within certain clearly defined limits, whatever seems likely to increase the material and moral well-being of the population. In form, the institution is parliamentary—that is to say, it consists of an assembly of deputies which meets at least once a year, and of a permanent executive bureau elected by the assembly from among its members. If the assembly be regarded as a local parliament, the bureau corresponds to the ministry. Once every three years the deputies are elected in certain fixed proportions by the landed proprietors, the rural communes, and the municipal corporations. Every province, and each of the districts, has such an assembly and such a bureau.

Mr. Wallace examined all the workings of this institution in several of the larger provinces, and though he is well aware of its many crudities, and the impractical character of many of its provisions, yet he speaks rather hopefully of it, summing up his description as follows:

"I might describe many minor defects of the Zemtsvo in its present condition, but I think it would be unfair to criticise severely a young institution which is animated with good intentions, and errs chiefly from inexperience. With all its defects and errors, it is infinitely better than the institution which it replaced. If we compare it with previous attempts to create local self-government, we must admit that the Russians have made great progress in their political education. What its future may be I do not venture to predict. I am inclined to believe that it will outlive its present state of lethargy, and will gradually acquire new healthy vitality, as the people come to feel more and more the need of those things which it is intended to supply. But, on the other hand, it may possibly die of inanition, or be swept away by some new explosion of reforming enthusiasm, before it has had time to strike deep root. Some one has truly said, that time shows little respect to works which have dispensed with its assistance, and nowhere is the saying

more frequently exemplified than in Russia, where institutions shoot up like Jonah's gourd, and perish as rapidly, without leaving a trace behind them."

The police, and the *gendarmerie* or political police, both formerly the embodiment of all that was evil, cruel, and oppressive in governments that ruled by terrorism, and were utterly irresponsible to anybody for their acts, have been very greatly improved, and are not now, perhaps, worse than is to be expected in a well-intentioned absolute government, but the existence of such an institution as the *gendarmerie*, and its capacity for evil in a government such as that of Paul or Catherine II. or even Nicholas, is of itself sufficient to show, that the personal character of the ruler has more to do with a beneficent government in Russia, than it should have.

Above the officials of various degrees who form the lower, middle, and higher ranks of the bureaucracy, come the ten ministries of the Interior, Public Works, State Domains, Finance, Justice, Public Instruction, War, Admiralty, Foreign Affairs, and the Imperial Court. All these are quite independent of each other. Their heads form a committee, but not a cabinet. Each is responsible to the Czar, but they have no sort of solidarity, and often represent quite different phases of opinion and sympathy.

In fact, this committee of ministers is the instrument of autocratic rule for executive purposes, just as the two other institutions, which stand side by side with it at the head of Russian affairs, the Council of State and the Senate, are the instruments of the same power for legislation, and the administration of justice, respectively.

High above this ascending scale of bureaucracy rises, like a column upon a truncated pyramid, the power of

the Chief of the State—the Czar. All are responsible to him; he, in theory at least, is responsible to none of his subjects. Never was "the *autos* of that autocratic mouth," as Mrs. Browning says of Napoleon, more positive and compulsory than in the emancipation law; and never, perhaps, was it more beneficent. We can hardly find fault, when a ruler so absolute, uses his vast power so uniformly for good, as Alexander has done; and yet we cannot forget, that while the Russian at present is perhaps best ruled by an autocrat, since he seems not quite capable of self-government, the possession of absolute power is, and always has been, a terrible temptation to its abuse. Nor can we avoid the belief that the natural tendencies of the people, now in training and tutelage under the most absolute of monarchies, are toward the fiercest and purest of democracies. The change will not come in the lifetime of the present Czar, but who can say that it may not in that of his successor?

We have given some descriptions of the peasant life in Russia, let us supplement them by the portraiture of a landed proprietor of the old school, and one of the new; these being representatives of the large class of boyars or former owners of the serf. Mr. Wallace shall be our limner, and he has drawn from the life.

In one of the central provinces, near the bank of a sluggish, meandering stream, stands an irregular group of wooden constructions,—old, unpainted, blackened by time, and surmounted by high, sloping roofs of moss-covered planks. The principal building is a long, one-storied dwelling-house, constructed at right angles to the road. At the front of the house is a spacious, ill-kept yard, and at the back an equally spacious, shady garden, in which art carries on a feeble conflict with encroaching

nature. At the other side of the yard and facing the front door—or rather the front doors, for there are two—stand the stables, hay-shed and granary, and near to that end of the house which is furthest from the road, are two smaller houses, one of which is the kitchen, and the other the Lyudskáya, or servants' apartments. Beyond these we can perceive, through a single row of lime-trees, another group of time blackened wooden constructions in a still more dilapidated condition. That is the farm-yard. Here lives and has lived for many years Ivan Ivanovitch K——, a gentleman of the old school, and a very worthy man of his kind. If we look at him as he sits in his comfortable arm-chair, with his capacious dressing-gown hanging loosely about him, and his long Turkish pipe in his hand, we shall be able to read at a glance something of his character. Nature endowed him with large bones and broad shoulders, and evidently intended him to be a man of great muscular power, but he has contrived to frustrate this benevolent intention and has now more fat than muscle. His close-cropped head is round as a bullet, and his features are massive and heavy, but the heaviness is relieved by an expression of calm contentment and imperturbable good-nature, which occasionally blossoms into a broad grin. His face is one of those on which no amount of histrionic talent could produce a look of care and anxiety, and for this it is not to blame, for such an expression has never been demanded of it. Like other mortals he experiences sometimes little annoyances, and on such occasions his small grey eyes sparkle and his face becomes suffused with a crimson glow that suggests apoplexy; but ill-fortune has never been able to get sufficiently firm hold of him, to make him understand what such words as care and anxiety mean. Of struggle, disappointment, hope,

and all the other feelings which give to human life a dramatic interest, he knows little by hearsay, and nothing by experience. He has, in fact, always lived outside of that struggle for existence which modern philosophers declare to be the law of Nature.

Somewhere about sixty years ago, Ivan Ivan'itch was born in the house where he still lives. His first lessons he received from the parish priest, and afterward he was taught by a deacon's son, who had studied in the ecclesiastical seminary to so little purpose, that he was unable to pass the final examination. By both of these teachers he was treated with extreme leniency, and was allowed to learn as little as he chose. His father wished him to study hard, but his mother was afraid that study might injure his health, and accordingly gave him several holidays every week. Under these circumstances his progress was naturally not very rapid, and he was still very slightly acquainted with the elementary rules of arithmetic, when his father one day declared that he was already eighteen years of age, and must at once enter the service. But what kind of service? Ivan had no natural inclination for any kind of activity. The project of entering him as a "Junker" (subaltern) in a cavalry regiment, the colonel of which was an old friend of his father's, did not at all please him. He had no love for military service, and positively disliked the prospect of an examination. While seeming, therefore, to bow implicitly to the paternal authority, he induced his mother to oppose the scheme.

The dilemma in which Ivan found himself was this: in deference to his father, he wished to be in the service, and to gain that official rank which every Russian noble desires to possess; and at the same time, in deference to his mother and his own tastes, he wished to remain at

home, and continue his indolent mode of life. The Marshal of Noblesse, who happened to call one day, helped him out of the difficulty by offering to inscribe him as secretary in the *Dvoryánskaya Opéka*, a bureau which acts as curator for the estates of minors. All the duties of this office could be fulfilled by a paid secretary, and the nominal occupant would be periodically promoted as if he were an active official. This was precisely what Ivan required. He accepted eagerly the proposal, and obtained, in the course of seven years, without any effort on his part, the rank of "collegiate secretary," corresponding to the "capitaine-en-second" of the military hierarchy. To mount higher he would have had to seek some place where he could not have fulfilled his duty by proxy, so he determined to rest on his easy-won laurels, and sent in his resignation.

Immediately after the termination of his official life, his married life began. Before his resignation had been accepted, he suddenly found himself one morning on the high road to matrimony. Here again there was no effort on his part. The course of true love, which is said never to run smooth for ordinary mortals, ran smooth for him. He never had even the trouble of proposing. The whole affair was arranged by his parents, who chose as bride for their son the only daughter of their nearest neighbor. The young lady was only about sixteen years of age, and was not remarkable for beauty, talent, or any other peculiarity, but she had one very important qualification—she was the daughter of a man who had an estate contiguous to their own, and who might give as a dowry a certain bit of land which they had long desired to add to their own property. The negotiations, being of a delicate nature, were intrusted to an old lady who had a great reputation for diplomatic skill in such

matters, and she accomplished her mission with such success, that in the course of a few weeks the preliminaries were arranged and the day fixed for the wedding. Thus Ivan Ivan'itch won his bride as easily as he had won his Tchin (rank) of "collegiate secretary."

Though the bridegroom had received rather than taken to himself a wife, and did not imagine for a moment that he was in love, he had no reason to regret the choice that was made for him. Maria Petrovna was exactly suited by character and education to be the wife of a man like Ivan Ivan'itch. She had grown up at home in the society of nurses and servant-maids, and had never learned anything more than could be obtained from the parish priest, and from "Ma'mselle," a personage occupying a position midway between a servant-maid and a governess. The first events of her life were the announcement that she was to be married, and the preparations for the wedding. All her life afterwards she remembered the delight which the purchase of her trousseau afforded her, and kept in her memory a full catalogue of the articles bought. The first years of her married life were not very happy, for she was treated by her mother-in-law, as a naughty child who required to be frequently snubbed and lectured; but she bore the discipline with exemplary patience, and in due time became her own mistress, and autocratic ruler in all domestic affairs. From that time she has lived an active, uneventful life. Between her and her husband there is as much mutual attachment as can reasonably be expected in phlegmatic natures, after thirty years of matrimony. She devotes all her energies to satisfying his simple material wants—of intellectual wants he has none—and securing his comfort in every possible way. Under this fostering care he has, as he is wont to say, "effeminated himself" (*obábilsya*).

His love of hunting and shooting has died out; he cares less and less to visit his neighbors, and each successive year he spends more and more time in his comfortable arm-chair.

The daily life of this worthy couple is singularly regular and monotonous, varying only with the changing seasons. In summer Ivan Ivan'itch gets up about seven o'clock, and puts on, with the assistance of his *valet de chambre*, a simple costume, consisting chiefly of a faded, plentifully-stained dressing-gown. Having nothing particular to do, he sits down at the open window and looks into the yard. As the servants pass he stops and questions them, and then gives them orders, or scolds them, as circumstances demand. Toward nine o'clock tea is announced, and he goes into the dining-room—a long, narrow apartment with bare wooden floor and no furniture but a table and chairs, all in a more or less rickety condition. Here he finds his wife with the tea-urn before her. In a few minutes the younger children come in, kiss their papa's hand, and take their places round the table. As this morning meal consists merely of bread and tea, it does not last long; and all disperse to their several occupations. The head of the house begins the labors of the day by resuming his seat at the open window and having his Turkish pipe filled and lighted by a boy whose special function is to keep his master's pipes in order. When he has smoked two or three pipes, and indulged in a proportionate amount of silent contemplation, he goes out with the intention of visiting the stables and farm-yard, but generally before he has crossed the court he finds the heat unbearable, and returns to his former position by the open window. Here he sits tranquilly till the sun has so far moved round that the veranda at the back of the house is com-

pletely in the shade, when he has his arm-chair removed thither, and sits there till dinner-time.

Maria Petrovna spends her morning in a more active way. As soon as the breakfast-table has been cleared, she goes to the larder, takes stock of the provisions, arranges the *menu du jour*, and gives to the cook the necessary materials, with detailed instructions as to how they are to be prepared. The rest of the morning she devotes to her other household duties.

Towards one o'clock dinner is announced, and Ivan Ivan'itch prepares his appetite by swallowing at a gulp a wine-glassful of home-made bitters. Dinner is the great event of the day. The food is abundant and of good quality, but mushrooms, onions, and fat, play a rather too important part in the repast, and the whole is prepared with very little attention to the recognized principles of culinary hygiene. Many of the dishes, indeed, would make a British valetudinarian stand aghast, but they seem to produce no bad effect on those Russian organisms which have never been weakened by town life, nervous excitement, or intellectual exertion.

No sooner has the last dish been removed than a death-like stillness falls upon the house; it is the time of the after-dinner siesta. The young folks go into the garden, and all the other members of the household give way to the drowsiness naturally engendered by a heavy meal on a hot summer day. Ivan Ivan'itch retires to his own room, from which the flies have been carefully expelled by his pipe-bearer. Maria Petrovna dozes in an arm-chair in the sitting-room, with a pocket-handkerchief spread over her face. The servants snore in the corridors, the garret, or the hay-shed; and, even the old watch-dog, in the corner of the yard, stretches himself out at full length on the shady side of his kennel.

In about two hours the house gradually re-awakens. Doors begin to creak; the names of various servants are bawled out in all tones, from bass to falsetto; and footsteps are heard in the yard. Soon a man-servant issues from the kitchen, bearing an enormous tea-urn, which puffs like a little steam-engine. The family assemble for tea. In Russia, as elsewhere, sleep after a heavy meal produces thirst, so that the tea and other beverages are very acceptable. Then some little delicacies are served—such as fruit and wild berries, or cucumbers with honey, or something else of the kind, and the family again disperses. Ivan Ivan'itch takes a turn in the fields on his *begovuiya droshki*—an extremely light vehicle, composed of two pairs of wheels joined together by a single board, on which the driver sits stride-legged; and Maria Petrovna probably receives a visit from the Popadyà (the priest's wife), who is the chief gossip-monger of the neighborhood. There is not much scandal in the district, but what little there is the Popadyà carefully collects, and distributes among her acquaintances with undiscriminating generosity.

In the evening, it often happens that a little group of peasants come into the court, and ask to see the "master." The master goes to the door, and generally finds that they have some favor to request. In reply to his question, "Well children, what do you want?" they tell their story in a confused, rambling way, several of them speaking at a time, and he has to question and cross-question them before he comes to understand clearly what they desire. If he tells them he cannot grant it, they probably do not accept a first refusal, but endeavor by means of supplication, to make him reconsider his decision. Stepping forward a little, and bowing low, one of the group begins in a half-respectful, half-famil-

iar, caressing tone—"Little father, Ivan Ivan'itch, be gracious; you are our father and we are your children" —and so on. Ivan Ivan'itch good-naturedly listens, and again explains that he cannot grant what they ask, but they have still hopes of gaining their point by entreaty, and continue their supplications, till at last his patience is exhausted, and he says to them in a paternal tone, "Now, enough! enough! you are blockheads—blockheads all round! there's no use talking, it can't be done." And with these words he enters the house, so as to prevent all further discussion.

A regular part of the evening's occupation is the interview with the steward. The work that has just been done, and the programme for the morrow, are always discussed at great length; and much time is spent in speculating as to the weather during the next few days. On this latter point, the calendar is always carefully consulted, and great confidence is placed in its predictions, though past experience has often shown that they are not to be implicitly trusted. The conversation drags on till supper is announced, and immediately after that meal, which is an abridged repetition of dinner, all retire for the night.

Thus pass the days and weeks and months in the house of Ivan Ivan'itch, and rarely is there any deviation from the ordinary programme. The climate necessitates, of course, some slight modifications. When it is cold, the doors and windows have to be kept shut, and after heavy rains, those who do not like to wade in mud have to remain in the house or garden. In the long winter evenings the family assemble in the sitting-room, and all kill time as best they can. Ivan Ivan'itch smokes his long pipe, and meditates, or listens to the barrel-organ played by one of the children. Maria

Petrovna knits a stocking. The old aunt, who commonly spends the winter with them, plays Patience, and sometimes draws from the game conclusions as to the future. Her favorite predictions are that a stranger will arrive, or that a marriage will take place, and she can determine the sex of the stranger, and the color of the bridegroom's hair; but beyond this her art does not go, and she cannot satisfy the young ladies' curiosity as to further details.

Books and newspapers are rarely seen in the sitting-room, but for those who wish to read, there is a book-case full of miscellaneous literature, which gives some idea of the literary tastes of the family during several generations. The oldest volumes were bought by Ivan Ivan'itch's grandfather—a man who, according to the family traditions, enjoyed the confidence of the great Catherine. Though wholly overlooked by recent historians, he was evidently a man who had some pretensions to culture. He had his portrait painted by a foreign artist of considerable talent—it still hangs in the sitting-room—and he bought several pieces of Sèvres ware, the last of which stands on a commode in the corner and contrasts strangely with the rude, home-made furniture, and squalid appearance of the apartment. Among the books which bear his name are the tragedies of Sumarókof, who imagined himself to be "the Russian Voltaire;" the amusing comedies of Von-Wisin, some of which still keep the stage; the loud-sounding odes of the courtly Derzhávin; two or three books containing the mystic wisdom of Freemasonry as interpreted by Schwarz and Novikoff; Russian translations of Richardson's "Pamela," "Sir Charles Grandison," and "Clarissa Harlowe;" Rousseau's "Nouvelle Héloise," in Russian garb; and three or four volumes of Voltaire in the original. Among the works collected at

a somewhat later period are translations of Ann Radcliffe, of Scott's early novels, and of Ducray Duménil, whose stories, "Lolotte et Fanfan" and "Victor," once enjoyed a great reputation. At this point the literary tastes of the family appeared to have died out, for the succeeding literature is represented exclusively by Kryloff's Fables, a farmer's manual, a hand-book of family medicine, and a series of calendars. There are, however, some signs of a revival, for on the lowest shelf stand recent editions of Pushkin, Lérmontof, and Gógol, and a few works by living authors.

Sometimes the monotony of the winter is broken by visiting neighbors and receiving visitors in return, or, in a more decided way, by a visit of a few days to the capital of the province. In the latter case, Maria Petrovna spends nearly all her time in shopping, and brings home a large collection of miscellaneous articles. The inspection of these by the assembled family forms an important domestic event, which completely throws into the shade the occasional visits of peddlers and colporteurs. Then there are the festivities at Christmas and Easter, and occasionally little incidents of a less agreeable kind. It may be that there is a heavy fall of snow, so that it is necessary to cut roads to the kitchen and stables; or wolves enter the courtyard at night and have a fight with the watch-dogs; or the news is brought that a peasant who had been drinking in a neighboring village has been found frozen to death on the road.

Altogether the family live a very isolated life, but they have one bond of connection with the great outer world. Two of the sons are officers in the army, and both of them write home occasionally to their mother and sisters. To these two youths is devoted all the little stock of sentimentality which Maria Petrovna possesses.

She can talk of them by the hour to any one who will listen to her, and has related to the Popadyà a hundred times every trivial incident of their lives. Though they have never given her much cause for anxiety, she lives in constant fear that some evil may befall them. What she most fears is that they may be sent on a campaign, or may fall in love with actresses. War and actresses are, in fact, the two bugbears of her existence, and whenever she has a disquieting dream she asks the priest to offer up a *molében* for the safety of her absent ones. Sometimes she ventures to express her anxiety to her husband, and recommends him to write to them; but he considers writing a letter a very serious bit of work, and always replies, evasively, "Well, well, we must think about it."

During the Crimean war—though the two sons were not yet in the army—Ivan Ivan'itch half awoke from his habitual lethargy, and read occasionally the meagre official reports published by the government. He was a little surprised that no great victories were reported, and that the army did not at once advance on Constantinople. As to causes he never speculated. Some of his neighbors told him that the army was disorganized, and the whole system of Nicholas had been proved to be utterly worthless. That might all be very true, but he did not understand military and political matters. No doubt it would all come right in the end. All did come right, after a fashion, and he again gave up reading newspapers; but ere long he was startled by reports much more alarming than any rumors of war. People began to talk about the peasant question, and to say openly that the serfs must soon be emancipated. For once in his life Ivan Ivan'itch asked explanations. Finding one of his neighbors, who had always been a respecta-

ble, sensible man, and a severe disciplinarian, talking in this way, he took him aside and asked what it all meant. The neighbor explained that the old order of things had shown itself bankrupt, and was doomed, that a new epoch was opening, that everything was to be reformed, and that the Emperor, in accordance with a secret clause of the Treaty with the Allies, was about to grant a Constitution! Ivan Ivan'itch listened for a little in silence, and then, with a gesture of impatience, interrupted the speaker: "Polno durátchitsya! enough of fun and tomfoolery, Vassili Petrovitch, tell me seriously what you mean."

When Vassili Petrovitch vowed that he spoke in all seriousness, his friend gazed at him with a look of intense compassion, and remarked, as he turned away, "So you, too, have gone out of your mind."

The utterances of Vassili Petrovitch, which his lethargic, sober-minded friend regarded as indicating temporary insanity in the speaker, represented fairly the mental condition of very many Russian nobles at that time, and were not without a certain foundation. The idea about a secret clause in the Treaty of Paris was purely imaginary, but it was quite true that the country was entering on an epoch of great reforms, among which the Emancipation question occupied the chief place. Of this even the skeptical Ivan Ivan'itch was soon convinced. The Emperor formally declared to the noblesse of the province of Moscow that the actual state of things could not continue forever, and called on the landed proprietors to consider by what means the condition of their serfs might be ameliorated. Provincial committees were formed for the purpose of preparing definite projects, and gradually it became apparent that the emancipation of the serfs was really at hand.

Ivan Ivan'itch was somewhat alarmed at the prospect

of losing his authority over his serfs. Though he had never been a cruel task-master, he had not spared the rod when he considered it necessary, and he believed birch-twigs to be a necessary instrument in the Russian system of agriculture. For some time he drew consolation from the thought that peasants were not birds of the air, that they must under all circumstances require food and clothing, and that they would be ready to serve him as agricultural laborers; but when he learned that they were to receive a large part of the estate for their own use, his hopes fell, and he greatly feared that he would be inevitably ruined.

These dark forebodings have not been by any means realized. His serfs have been emancipated, and have received about a half of the estate, but in return for the land ceded they pay him annually a considerable sum, and they are always ready to cultivate his fields for a fair remuneration. The yearly outlay is now considerably greater, but the price of grain has risen, and this quite counterbalances the additional yearly expenditure. The administration of the estate is much less patriarchal; much that was formerly left to custom and tacit understanding is now regulated by express agreement on purely commercial principles; a great deal more money is paid out, and a great deal more received; there is much less authority in the hands of the master, and his responsibilities are proportionately diminished; but in spite of all these changes, Ivan Ivan'itch would have great difficulty in deciding whether he is a richer or a poorer man. He has fewer horses and fewer servants, but he has still more than he requires, and his mode of life has undergone no perceptible alteration. Maria Petrovna complains that she is no longer supplied with eggs, chickens, and homespun linen by the peasants, and

everything is three times as dear as it used to be; but somehow the larder is still full, and abundance reigns in the house, as of old.

Ivan Ivan'itch certainly does not possess transcendent qualities of any kind. It would be impossible to make a hero out of him, even though his own son should be his biographer. Muscular Christians may reasonably despise him, and active, energetic men may fairly condemn him for his indolence and apathy. But, on the other hand, he has no very bad qualities. His vices are of the passive, negative kind. He is a respectable, if not distinguished member of society, and appears a very worthy man, when compared with many of his neighbors who have been brought up in similar conditions.

Very different in character and habits is the landed proprietor of the modern school; here is his portrait as drawn by Mr. Wallace:

"In the same district with our friend Ivan Ivanovitch resides Victor Alexandrovitch L——. As we approach his house we can at once perceive that he differs from the majority of his neighbors. The gate is painted and moves easily on its hinges, the fence is in good repair, the short avenue leading up to the front door is well-kept, and in the garden we can perceive at a glance that more attention is paid to flowers than to vegetables. The house is of wood and not large, but it has some architectural pretensions in the form of a great pseudo-Doric wooden portico, that covers three-fourths of the façade. In the interior we remark everywhere the influence of western civilization. Victor Alexandr'itch is by no means richer than Ivan Ivan'itch, but his rooms are much more luxuriously furnished. The furniture is of a lighter model, more comfortable, and in a much better state of preservation. Instead of the bare, scantily-furnished sitting-room, with the old-fashioned barrel-organ, which played only six airs, we find an elegant drawing-room, with a piano by one of the most approved makers, and numerous articles of foreign manufacture, comprising a small buhl table and two bits of genu-

THE HOME OF A RUSSIAN NOBLEMAN.

ine old Wedgewood. The servants are clean, and dressed in European costume. The master, too, is very different in appearance. He pays great attention to his toilet, wearing a dressing-gown only in the early morning, and a fashionable lounging coat during the rest of the day. The Turkish pipes which his grandfather loved he holds in abhorrence, and habitually smokes cigarettes. With his wife and daughters he always speaks French, and calls them by French or English names. But the part of the house which most strikingly illustrates the difference between the old and new styles is 'le cabinet de monsieur.' In the cabinet of Ivan Ivan'itch the furniture consists of a broad sofa which serves as a bed, a few deal chairs, a long range of pipes, and a clumsy deal table, on which are generally to be found a bundle of greasy papers, an old chipped ink-bottle, a pen, and a calendar. The cabinet of Victor Alexandr'itch has an entirely different appearance. It is small, but at once comfortable and elegant. The principal objects which it contains are a library-table, with inkstand, presse-papier, paper-cutters, and other articles in keeping, and in the opposite corner a large book-case. The collection of books is remarkable, not from the number of volumes or the presence of rare editions, but from the variety of the subjects. History, art, fiction, the drama, political economy, and agriculture are represented in about equal proportions. Some of the works are in Russian, others in German, a large number in French, and a few in Italian. The collection illustrates the former life and present occupations of the owner.

"The father of Victor Alexandr'itch was a landed proprietor, who had made a successful career in the civil service, and desired that his son should follow the same profession. For this purpose Victor was first carefully trained at home, and then sent to the University of Moscow, where he spent four years as a student of law. From the University he passed to the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg, but he found the monotonous routine of official life not at all suited to his taste, and very soon sent in his resignation. The death of his father had made him proprietor of an estate, and thither he retired, hoping to find there plenty of occupation, more congenial than the writing of official papers.

"At the University of Moscow he had attended the lectures of the famous Granófski, and had got through a large amount of

desultory reading. The chief result of his studies was the acquisition of many ill-digested general principles, and certain vague, generous, humanitarian aspirations. With this intellectual capital he hoped to lead a useful life in the country. When he had repaired and furnished the house, he set himself to improve the estate. In the course of his promiscuous reading he had stumbled on some descriptions of English and Turkish agriculture, and had there learned what wonders might be effected by a rational system of farming. Why should not Russia follow the example of England and Tuscany? By proper drainage, plentiful manure, good plows, and the cultivation of artificial grasses, the production might be multiplied tenfold; and by the introduction of agricultural machines the manual labor might be greatly diminished. All this seemed simple as a sum in arithmetic, and Victor Alexandr'itch, 'more scholarium rei familiaris ignarus,' without a moment's hesitation, expended his ready money in procuring from England a threshing-machine, plows, harrows, and other implements of the newest model.

"The arrival of these was an event that was long remembered. The peasants examined them with attention, not unmixed with wonder, but said nothing. When the master explained to them the advantages of the new instruments, they still remained silent. Only one old man, gazing at the threshing-machine, remarked, in an audible 'aside,' 'A cunning people these Germans.'* On being asked for their opinion, they replied vaguely, 'How should we know? It *ought* to be so.' But when their master had retired, and was explaining to his wife and the French governess that the chief obstacle to progress in Russia was the apathetic indolence and conservative spirit of the peasantry, they expressed their opinions more freely. 'These may be all very well for the Germans, but they won't do for us. How are our little horses to drag these big plows and harrows? And as for that'—the threshing-machine—'it's of no use.' Further examination and reflection confirmed this first impression, and it was unanimously decided that no good would come of the new-fangled inventions.

* The Russian peasant comprehends all the inhabitants of Western Europe, under the term "Nyemtsi," which, in the language of the educated, designates only Germans. The rest of humanity is composed of Pravoslavniye (Greek Orthodox), and Busurmanye (Mahometans), Poliacki (Poles).

"These apprehensions proved to be only too well founded. The plows and harrows were much too heavy for the peasants' small horses, and the threshing-machine broke down at the first attempt to use it. For the purchase of lighter implements or stronger horses there was no ready money, and for the repairing of the threshing-machine there was not an engineer within a radius of a hundred and fifty miles. The experiment was, in short, a complete failure, and the new purchases were put away out of sight.

"For some weeks after this incident Victor Alexandr'itch felt very despondent, and spoke more than usual about the apathy and stupidity of the peasantry. His faith in infallible science was somewhat shaken, and his benevolent aspirations were for a time laid aside. But this eclipse of faith was not of long duration. Gradually he recovered his normal condition, and began to form new schemes. From the study of certain works on political economy he learned that the system of communal property was ruinous to the fertility of the soil, and that free labor was always more productive than serfage. By the light of these principles he discovered why the peasantry in Russia were so poor, and by what means their condition could be ameliorated. The communal land should be divided into family lots, and the serfs, instead of being forced to work for the proprietor, should pay a yearly sum as rent. The advantages of this change he perceived clearly—as clearly as he had formerly perceived the advantages of English agricultural implements—and he determined to make the experiment on his own estate.

"His first step was to call together the more intelligent and influential of his serfs, and to explain to them his project; but his efforts at explanation were eminently unsuccessful. Even with regard to ordinary current affairs he could not express himself in that simple, homely language with which alone the peasants are familiar, and when he spoke on abstract subjects he naturally became quite unintelligible to his uneducated audience. The serfs listened attentively, but understood nothing. He might as well have spoken to them, as he often did in another kind of society, about the comparative excellence of Italian and German music. At a second attempt he was rather more successful. The peasants came to understand that what he wished was to break up the 'Mir,' or rural commune, and to put them all 'on Obrok'—

that is to say, make them pay a yearly sum instead of giving him a certain amount of agricultural labor. Much to his astonishment, his scheme did not meet with any sympathy. As to being put 'on Obrok,' the serfs did not much object, though they preferred to remain as they were; but his proposal to break up the 'Mir' fairly astonished and bewildered them. They regarded it as a sea-captain might regard the proposal of a scientific wise-acre to knock a hole in the ship's bottom in order to make her sail faster. Though they did not say much, he was intelligent enough to see that they would offer a strenuous, passive opposition, and as he did not wish to act tyrannically, he let the matter drop. Thus a second benevolent scheme was shipwrecked. Many other schemes had a similar fate, and Victor Alexandr'itch began to perceive that it was very difficult to do good in this world, especially when the persons to be benefited were Russian peasants.

"In reality the fault lay less with the serfs than with their master. Victor Alexandr'itch was by no means a stupid man. On the contrary, he had more than average talents. Few men were more capable of grasping a new idea and forming a scheme for its realization, and few men could play more dexterously with abstract principles. What he wanted was the power of dealing with concrete facts. The principles which he had acquired from University lectures and desultory reading were far too vague and abstract for practical use. He had studied abstract science without gaining any technical knowledge of details, and consequently, when he stood face to face with real life he was like a student who, having studied mechanics in text-books, is suddenly placed in a workshop and ordered to construct a machine. Only there was one difference: Victor Alexandr'itch was not ordered to do anything. Voluntarily, without any apparent necessity, he set himself to work with tools he could not handle. It was this that chiefly puzzled the peasants. Why should he trouble himself with these new schemes, when he might live comfortably as he was? In some of his projects they could detect a desire to increase the revenue, but in others they could discover no such motive. In these latter they attributed his conduct to pure caprice, and put it into the same category as those mad pranks in which proprietors of jovial humor sometimes indulged.

"In the last years of serfage there were a good many landed pro-

prietors like Victor Alexandr'itch—men who wished to do something beneficent, and did not know how to do it. When serfage was being abolished, the majority of these men took an active part in the great work and rendered valuable service to their country. Victor Alexandr'itch acted otherwise. At first he sympathized warmly with the proposed emancipation and wrote several articles on the advantages of free labor, but when the government took the matter into its own hands, he declared that the officials had deceived and slighted the noblesse, and he went over to the opposition. Before the Imperial Edict was signed he went abroad, and traveled for three years in Germany, France, and Italy. Shortly after his return, he married a pretty, accomplished young lady, the daughter of an eminent official in St. Petersburg, and since that time he has lived in his country-house.

"Though a man of education and culture, Victor Alexandr'itch spends his time in almost as indolent a way as the man of the old school. He rises somewhat later, and instead of sitting by the open window and gazing into the courtyard, he turns over the pages of a book or periodical. Instead of dining at mid-day and supping at nine o'clock, he takes *déjeuner* at twelve and dines at five. He spends less time in sitting in the veranda and pacing up and down with his hands behind his back, for he can vary the operation of time-killing by occasionally writing a letter, or by standing behind his wife at the piano while she plays selections from Mozart and Beethoven. But these peculiarities are merely variations in detail. If there is any essential difference between the lives of Victor Alexandr'itch and of Ivan Ivan'itch, it is in the fact that the former never goes out into the fields to see how the work is done, and never troubles himself with the state of the weather, the condition of the crops, and cognate subjects. He leaves the management of his estate entirely to his steward, and refers to that personage all peasants who come to him with complaints or petitions. Though he takes a deep interest in the peasant as an impersonal, abstract entity, and loves to contemplate concrete examples of the genus in the works of certain popular authors, he does not like to have any direct relations with peasants in the flesh. If he has to speak with them he always feels awkward, and suffers from the odor of their sheep-skins. Ivan Ivan'itch is ever ready to talk

with the peasants, and give them sound, practical advice, or severe admonitions; and in the old times he was apt, in moments of irritation, to supplement his admonitions by a free use of his fists. Victor Alexandr'itch, on the contrary, never could give any advice except vague common-place, and as to using his fist, he would have shrunk from that, not only from respect to humanitarian principles, but also from motives which belong to the region of æsthetic sensitiveness.

"This difference between the two men has an important influence on their pecuniary affairs. The stewards of both steal from their masters, but that of Ivan Ivan'itch steals with difficulty, and to a very limited extent, whereas that of Victor Alexandr'itch steals regularly and methodically, and counts his gains, not by kopeks, but by roubles.* Though the two estates are of about the same size and value, they give a very different revenue. The rough, practical man has a much larger income than his elegant, well-educated neighbor, and at the same time spends very much less. The consequences of this, if not at present visible, must soon become painfully apparent. Ivan Ivan'itch will doubtless leave to his children an unencumbered estate and a certain amount of capital. The children of Victor Alexandr'itch have a different prospect. He has already begun to mortgage his property and to cut down the timber, and he always finds a deficit at the end of the year. What will become of his wife and children when the estate comes to be sold for payment of the mortgage, it is difficult to predict. He thinks very little of that eventuality, and when his thoughts happen to wander in that direction, he consoles himself with the thought that before the crash comes, he will have inherited a fortune from a rich uncle, who has no children. He knows very well—or at least might know, if he took the trouble to think—that this calculation is founded on mere possibilities. The uncle may still marry, and have children, or he may choose some other nephew as his heir, or he may simply live on and enjoy his fortune for thirty years to come. The chances, therefore, are very uncertain; but Victor Alexandr'itch, like other improvident people, likes to think that there must be somewhere behind the scenes a beneficent *Deus ex machina*, that will doubtless appear at the proper

* The rouble (75 cents) contains 100 *kopecks*.

moment, and miraculously rescue him from the natural consequences of his folly.

"The proprietors of the old school lead the same uniform, monotonous life year after year, with very little variation. Victor Alexandr'itch, on the contrary, feels the need of a periodical return to 'civilized society,' and accordingly spends a few weeks every winter in St. Petersburg. During the summer months he has the society of his brother—*un homme tout-à-fait civilisé*—who possesses an estate a few miles off."

These are, Mr. Wallace affirms, representative men among the two classes of landed proprietors. There are of course some exceptions in both classes; men of thorough intelligence, who with infinite pains and patience, have instructed their peasant farmers in the best methods of cultivating the soil, and who by the use of American agricultural machinery, which is far better adapted to their lands than the English, have succeeded in greatly increasing the yield of the farm-lands. Southern Russia is admirably adapted to the growth of cereals, and with skillful culture might produce more than double the quantity of wheat, barley, and oats to the acre which it now yields; but neither class of the proprietors, above described, can introduce a change in culture which will effect so desirable a result.

Our grain-farming in this country is not nearly as skillful as it should be, and even in our best grain States the average yield per acre is constantly diminishing, and for the whole country does not average above 14.5 bushels of wheat to the acre, but it has been ascertained by recent careful investigation, that in years of average productiveness, we can export wheat and other grains to Europe, at prices which would prove ruinous to a Russian landed proprietor.

The customs and mode of life of one other class, the

popes or parish priests, and as affiliated with them, the black clergy or monks, demand a few words before we close this extended account of Russian history, and religious, political, and social life.

The parochial clergy form a class—almost a caste—by themselves. With rare exceptions, only the sons of priests can be educated for the priesthood. They are received into the seminary of the province or district, where they receive a new name and a moderate education, their opportunities being often misimproved. The question of piety or special adaptation for his work does not enter into the consideration of the bishop who is at the head of the seminary, nor of the candidate himself. He is the son of a parish priest, and there is nothing for him but to enter the priesthood. No matter what may be his moral character, and it is often bad enough, he must be a priest. The clerical class, including the black or celibate clergy and the families of the parochial priests, somewhat exceeds 700,000, or about one in a hundred of the population. For the most part they are poor, receiving on an average not more than $250 per annum in fees, aside from their manse, often a mere hovel, and their life interest in the glebe or parochial lands. As the increase in the number of priests is greater than that in the number of parishes, there are, of course many, who are without a parish or a charge of any kind, and these often scramble, in a most scandalous way, for temporary appointments which may bring them a piece of bread. In the Kremlin of Moscow a large crowd of them assemble every morning for the purpose of being hired to officiate in the private chapels by the rich nobles, and their bargaining with the lackeys of the nobles who hire them, has always been a great reproach to religion.

The bishop is, under the laws, the guardian and protector of the widows and orphans of the parish priests in his diocese, as well as the chief or chancellor of the seminary. One method in which he exercises his power is singular enough. When a priest dies, leaving a wife and daughters, the bishop selects one of the seminarists, and directs him to go to the parish, marry one of the daughters, and taking possession of the manse, support the mother and sisters of his bride. No inquiry is made into the previous conditions of the affections of either party. The bishop's behest must be obeyed, or the young seminarist may have to wait for years before he receives another opportunity of settlement. The priest, once settled, receives fees for funerals, baptisms, weddings, and merrymakings; and they are often very extortionate in their charges, sometimes refusing to perform the rites of baptism or burial, till a considerable sum has been paid. This rapacity disgusts the peasants so much that they shun them, and grudge everything they are obliged to give them, and yet this rapacity is caused mostly by their poverty. Their habits are very often bad, especially in the matter of intemperance, the peasants sometimes shutting up a drunken pope in a cell to sleep off his intoxication, knowing that in this way only can they obtain his services, if they should be needed.

Mr. Melnikof, an eminent Russian writer and reformer, in a secret report to the Grand Duke Constantine, presents their evil practices very forcibly. "Can the people," he says, "respect the clergy, when they hear how one priest stole money from below the pillow of a dying man at the moment of confession; how another was publicly dragged out of a house of ill-fame; how a third christened a dog; how a fourth, whilst officiating at the

Easter service, was dragged by the hair from the altar by the deacon? Is it possible for the people to respect priests who spend their time in the gin-shops, write fraudulent petitions, fight with the cross in their hands, and abuse each other in bad language at the altar? Is it possible for the people to respect the clergy, when they see everywhere amongst them simony, carelessness in performing the religious rites, and disorder in administering the sacrament? If we add to all this the false certificates which the clergy give to those who do not wish to partake of the eucharist, the dues illegally extracted from the old Ritualists, the conversion of the altar into a source of revenue, the giving of churches to priest's daughters as a dowry, and similar phenomena, the question as to whether the people can respect the clergy requires no answer." We may charitably hope that the efforts made by the Czar to ameliorate the condition of these parish priests, by opening to them avenues of employment as teachers, rectors of universities, archimandrites and bishops, may prove the means of elevating their character, and raising their ambition to lead a better life, so that this terrible arraignment may cease to be true.

CHAPTER V.

TURKEY.—ITS HISTORY.

THE origin of the name TURK is uncertain. Their traditionary or legendary history is, to a greater extent than even that of most Oriental nations, mythical. There are no clear traces of them as a distinct nationality much earlier than the fifth century after Christ. They claim, indeed, to be descended from a grandson of Japheth, whom they call Turk or Turko, and who has been supposed by some writers to be identical with the Togarmah of the Bible, and the Targitaos of Herodotus. They claim an original kinship with the Mongols and the Tartars, and say that their first ancestors were brothers. It seems to be probable that the foot-hills of the Altai chain of mountains were the cradle of the three races, Turk, Mongol, and Tartar. Another and more reasonable account of their name comes from the Chinese, who in the earlier centuries of their national existence were the masters of these nomads, to whom at first they gave the name of *Hiung-nu;* but after ages of submission, either nominal or real, they became restless and rebellious, and about the commencement of the fifth century after Christ, migrated from their old home, at the foot of the Altai, toward the southwest, and refused any further allegiance to the Chinese. These migrating tribes were thenceforward called by the Chinese *Thu-kiu* or *Tu-ku*, the latter name being possibly corrupted in time into

Turk. Be this as it may, it is certain that their progress westward began about that time, and that they drove out the previous inhabitants of the vast elevated plains or steppes lying along the Syr Daria and Amü Daria (the ancient Jaxartes and Oxus), and extending from the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral toward the southwest. Not satisfied with dispossessing these primitive agricultural tribes of their lands, and compelling them to take refuge in Europe, the nomad chief of these migrating Turks, who styled himself the Grand Khan, sent his ambassadors to the Emperor Justinian, who then reigned at Constantinople, in A. D. 568, to induce him to destroy these refugees from the steppes. But though the Emperor made a treaty with the Grand Khan, he was not very successful in destroying the fugitives.

For some centuries these Turks or Turkomans were either Buddhists or Shamanists, for as yet Mahomet had not promulgated the Koran, or established a religion and an empire in one. But early in the tenth century, these wild nomad horsemen having penetrated into Persia, were brought into contact with Mahometan chiefs or caliphs, and embraced the religion of Mahomet with great readiness, Salúr, a powerful chief or Khan, becoming an early convert, and the Grand Khan following his example in 960. Salúr gave to his tribe on their conversion, the name of Turk-imáms or Turks of the faith, to distinguish them from the heathen Turks. This name, has, it it said, since degenerated into Turkomans.

Their conversion to Islamism did not in the least abate the martial fury or ambition of these Turks, but rather seemed to inflame it the more. They pressed forward over the mountains of Kürdistan, into the Mesopotamian plains, along the banks of the Euphrates

INTERIOR OF TURKOMAN TENT.

and Tigris, occupying the whole breadth of the land between the Persian Gulf and the mountains of Caucasus, and between the heights of Ararat and the Black Sea. Even the early caliphs and descendants of Mahomet who ruled at Bagdad, were compelled to surrender to them their temporal power, the spiritual sword being reserved to them. Syria and Asia Minor came also under their sway, and some writers say that they crossed the Archipelago and took possession of the isles, and possibly of some of the main land of Greece.

It is proper to say, however, that these Turks, who in the course of two centuries had acquired so vast an empire were not, except in a very remote sense, the kinsmen or ancestors of the Turks who now occupy the finest portion of the earth's surface. They were known as Seljuk Turks from Seljuk, their Emir or prince, who first commenced in Khorassan in Persia, that career of conquest, which, under the reign of his great grandson Malek Shah, included the whole of Persia, Armenia, Syria, the greater part of Asia Minor, and the country from the Oxus to beyond the Jaxartes, or from the shores of the Mediterranean to the confines of China. Though active in promoting mental, and to some extent agricultural progress, they were fiercely intolerant, putting to the sword all who did not instantly subscribe to the Mahometan creed—"God is God: and Mahomet is the prophet of God."—Their intolerance and cruelty to the Christians of the East provoked the Crusades, and led to terrible slaughter, in the effort to hold or to capture the holy places of Palestine.

Like most Oriental empires founded on conquest, and having only nomadic races for its subjects, the Seljukian Empire of Malek Shah fell to pieces at the very hour of its greatest glory and extension. Four sons of Malek

divided the empire among themselves, and in the next generation there were a score or more of khans and emirs, each ruling over a little state. In Asia Minor alone there were ten sultans reigning at once.

About A. D. 1250, a tribe of Turks, not of the stock of the Seljuks, were driven out of Khorassan by the Mongols, who were then, under Genghis Khan, becoming formidable as invaders of the west, and sought pasturage for their flocks and herds in Armenia, but, after seven years of exile, sought to return to their own land. The loss of their leader, who was drowned in the Euphrates, led them to break up, and one division, under the guidance of a warlike and capable Emir named Ertogrul, turned westward, and sought for a home in Asia Minor. As they proceeded on their course they descried two armies drawn up for battle. Ertogrul, like Job's warhorse, "smelled the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting," and, drawing nearer, joined his force to what seemed to be the weaker side, which, thus reinforced, won the victory. It was not till after the battle was over, that he learned that his ally was the Seljukian Sultan of Iconium, and his opponent, the khan of an invading horde of Mongols.

The Seljukian Sultan was, of course, very grateful for the aid he had received, and tendered to Ertogrul two districts of territory for himself and his people. These districts were in the valley of the Sangarius, and in the Black Mountains on the borders of Phrygia and Bithynia. From this moderate beginning began, in the person of Othman, the son of Ertogrul, the Osmanli dynasty and empire. The Turks of the present day insist that they should be called *Osmanlis* and not *Turks*, that name, they say, being synonymous with "barbarian." If it is, it cannot be denied that the conduct of a large part

of the nation, makes it the one name most appropriate for them.

Othman commenced his reign on his father's death, in 1288. He continued the vassal of the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium till the death of that Sultan, claiming only the title of Emir. He had made considerable conquests in that portion of the Greek empire, which lay in Asia Minor, pushing constantly northward into the vicinity of Constantinople. On the death of the Sultan Aladdin, in 1299, Othman declared himself independent, and having captured the city of Prusa, now Broussa, he made it his capital. Othman was, for the times and for a nomad prince, a very able ruler. He was an excellent disciplinarian, and held his hordes to a strict account for all their acts. Temperate, vigorous, energetic and enterprising, he had also wider views, and more intellectual ability than most of the rulers of his time. He wisely divided the conquered territories among his chiefs to hold in fief, and thereby bound them to himself, besides securing safety and protection to these new districts. He encouraged the commerce and industry of the Greek cities in his realm, for these very valid reasons: that he might prevent all resistance from them; that he might increase the prosperity of his empire, and develop among his own people such a taste for commerce, industry, and agriculture, as should lead them to abandon the nomadic life. A number of the Greek cities, not in his realm, voluntarily abandoned the effete Greek empire, and placed themselves under his protection. He died at Broussa, in 1326, having reigned in all thirty-eight years, and as an independent prince twenty-seven years.

He was succeeded by his son Orchan, who followed out his father's ideas in the internal development of the young empire, and added something also to its territory

by conquest, Nicæa, and Nicomedia, an important city on the Black Sea, as well as all the land belonging to the Greek empire to the shores of the Black Sea. He married a daughter of the Greek Emperor Cantacuzene. In 1336 he took a fortified castle on the European shore of the Dardanelles, and in 1357, the city of Gallipoli itself.

From this time forward, for a hundred years, the record of the Osmanlìs is one of continued conquests and inroads upon European territory, and the organization of the conquered lands into districts (*sandjaks*) and provinces (*vilayets*). The Janissaries—that formidable military force which in after ages ruled and tyrannized over the Sultans, till they were at last destroyed in our own century, by a terrible and bloody massacre—were first constituted as the nucleus of the Ottoman army in 1330. Murad, the son of Orchan and grandson of Othman, subdued all of Asia Minor which did not already own his sway, and conquered Adrianople and most of Bulgaria, and threatened Thrace, Macedonia, and Servia; all of which became his tributaries; his son Bajazet I. added Wallachia, Styria, a part of Bosnia, and the whole of Thessaly and Morea to his conquests; but in Asia was defeated and made prisoner by Timur, the Tartar Khan, often but incorrectly called Tamerlane. Adrianople was now the Osmanli capital. Mohammed I. the son of Bajazet was a peaceful prince, but held what his father had conquered. His son, Murad II. was a warrior, and after several battles with John Hunyades the Hungarian hero, in two of which Hunyades was the victor, but in the third suffered a terrible defeat, and Hungary became a tributary of the Osmanli Sultans, he turned his face toward Greece, and conquered the whole of it, as well as part of Albania. At the death of Murad, in 1451,

there was left to the Greek emperors little of their former vast empire, except the city of Constantinople and its suburbs; and on the plea, that the Greek emperors harbored and aided every pretender to the throne of Othman, the Osmanli Sultans resolved to make an end of the Greek empire. They had already their mosques in the city, and had waited with strange patience for them, till the full time should come for taking possession of the city. They already held all its approaches, and, as they well knew, there was not one of all the Christian powers of Europe, who could send a single regiment of troops or a war ship to save Constantinople from falling into their hands. Dr. Johannes Blochwitz gives this striking picture of the situation: "Serious resistance on the part of the Western princes was not to be thought of, as they were hostile to each other. Italy was torn by countless factions. Serious differences prevailed between England and France; and England itself was weakened by internal disturbances. Between the mighty republics of Genoa and Aragon serious coolness had existed for a long time; while Charles VII. of France and Philip the Good of Burgundy were deterred from any common undertaking, by mutual distrust. The German emperor summoned the princes who were quarreling with him, and among themselves, to attend a diet, from which he absented himself. Switzerland was filled with hatred against the Hapsburgs. John Hunyades of Hungary was at variance with the magnates of the realm. Silesia was in the midst of a revolt against King Ladislaus. Alfonso of Naples made great promises, which he did not keep. Venice, well armed and rich, which had been counted upon, as its valuable possessions on the coast of Morea and the islands of the Archipelago seemed greatly endangered, preferred to make peace with

the Sultans, purchasing for great sums the safety of all that could be saved. Finally and unfortunately, Pope Nicholas V. died; the only man of influence and consequence who had zealously urged a general movement against the Turks. His successor Calixtus III. directed regular processions and public prayers to be held, and the daily ringing of the so-called 'Turk-bell' in all the towns. Such measures were not calculated to work miracles. At a moment when the Ottomans rose like one man, to unheard of power, hurling blow upon blow against their enemies, this was the pitiful plight of Western Christendom!"

The time had come! and Constantinople, a city which had already withstood twenty-seven sieges, now hardly waited for a siege which was but little more than a farce. The Turks brought 250,000 men against the city and a naval squadron of 400 sail, while the poor old and feeble Constantine XIII. could only count 4,973 soldiers and defenders. Constantinople fell on the 29th of May, 1453, and Mohammed II. made a magnificent entry into it, while the head of Constantine XIII., the last Greek Emperor, and that of Orchan, a Turkish prince and pretender, whom Constantine had sheltered and protected, were laid at his feet. But Turkish greed did not end with the possession of Constantinople. Why should it, when almost all they wanted was to be had for the asking? In 1454, Mohammed II. demanded the whole of Servia, but waived his demand for five years for the consideration of 30,000 ducats a year, and in 1459, it became a Turkish province. Belgrade, its capital, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, captured and re-captured several times, at last became theirs. The entire Peloponnesus, Athens, and the island of Lesbos, were seized and held; Wallachia and the greater part of Bosnia, which

CONSTANTINOPLE, THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD.

had hitherto resisted the progress of the Turk, was subjugated in 1462–3, and the last king of Bosnia made a prisoner and executed. Albania and Herzegovina, the former after a long and valiant resistance, fell into the hands of the Sultan in 1467, and within the next ten years Venice was defeated and compelled to surrender all her Greek possessions, and Karaman, the only portion of Asia Minor which still held out, was compelled to submit. Moldavia was subdued in 1476, and the Tartars of the Crimean Peninsula with 100,000 fighting men became tributary. An attack on Transylvania resulted in the only reverse which befell this haughty conqueror.

Bajazet II., the son of Mohammed, was a peace-loving prince, but held for the most part what his father had conquered, though he was drawn into a long war with Persia, and came into contact with Russia, for the first time, in 1495. He had also troubles with his brother and son. The latter, Selim, a younger son, finally dethroned his father, and perhaps caused his death.

Selim I., a cruel, brutal, and bloodthirsty Sultan, was a notorious truce-breaker, a very Nero for his love of blood, the conqueror of Egypt and Syria. He was succeeded by Soliman I., surnamed the Magnificent, under whom the Ottoman Empire reached its most flourishing period. Under him commenced that long struggle, carried on for two centuries, for the possession of Hungary.

In his long reign of forty-six years, all of Hungary and Transylvania lying east of the Danube, including its capital and chief fortress, Buda and Pesth, and the Austrian provinces of Sclavonia and Croatia, became Turkish provinces, while Hungary remained a portion of the Turkish realm till 1686, a hundred and fifty years later. Austria and Venice became tributaries to the Porte, paying immense sums annually into its treasury,

and the latter was forced to relinquish all its possessions in the Archipelago. The Sultan had conquered and governed all the north coast of Africa, Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, and Marocco, and was using the piratical fleets of the Beys of Tunis and Algiers to harass the Spanish and English commerce in the Mediterranean. France was his firm ally, and was used by him to divide his enemies, Spain, Austria, Germany, and England, and each of these in turn sought his favor. Only Russia had successfully resisted his inroads. He had also conquered all of Syria and a large part of Persia, making the Shah his tributary. In many respects, Soliman was the ablest and wisest of the Osmanlì Sultans. Aside from his great military successes, he had proved himself a skillful civil ruler. He had reorganized and greatly improved his army; had caused a civil code to be prepared, most of the provisions of which are valid to this day. He had organized the taxation and finances of the country; had regulated its land-taxes, rents, tariffs, and market dues; had established fixed rates for the most necessary articles of food, and laws for the protection of animals. He had settled the tribute-money for the conquered States and dependants, and received from them an annual revenue of from sixteen to eighteen million dollars, a sum which would be equivalent to at least one hundred millions at the present day. He had also manifested great interest in the advancement of art, science, and literature.

In the nature of things, it was impossible that such prosperity, among a people like the Turks, could be permanent. There were too many elements of corruption, degeneration, and decay at work, to permit any long period of uninterrupted success. As a matter of history, we find that the decline of the Ottoman Empire commenced with his death, and that it has fallen lower and

lower with each successive generation to the present time. It has never increased its territory from that time, but has been constantly losing portions of its domain. Some part of this decline is undoubtedly due to changes introduced by Soliman himself, and subsequently rendered more destructive by his successors. Among these changes may be mentioned the withdrawal of the Sultan from the Council of Ministers, and from any connection with, or knowledge of, the details of the administration of affairs; the appointment to the highest civil offices, and later to army offices, of favorites and the friends of favorites, especially of the women of the harem, instead of men of wisdom and experience; the traffic in offices and the reception of bribes and fees by all the officers of the Porte, from the Grand Vizier down; the payment of enormous salaries and perquisites to the high officers of State, and the reckless extravagance of the court, and especially of the seraglio, or women of the harem. The Sultans at this time possessed the absolute power of life and death over all their subjects. They were at liberty to order fourteen (some say twenty-five) men to be beheaded daily, without assigning any reason for their action; if they went beyond this number, they were expected to give some excuse, which might, however, be a very frivolous one.

The monarchs who followed Soliman were for the most part intemperate, imbecile, cruel, or enervated by their vices. The Grand Viziers and the women of the seraglio and their favorites, managed affairs as they pleased; Selim II. (1566–1574) was intemperate and stupid, but his Grand Viziers conquered Arabia and Cyprus, though they lost territory of more value in Europe and Asia Minor. Murad III. (1575–1695) was a buffoon, debauchee and opium-eater. Russia became

a formidable enemy during his reign, and Persia harassed the Eastern frontier incessantly. Mohammed III. (1595–1603) varied his achievements by the murder of nineteen princes of the blood, the debasement of the currency, the increase of taxation, and disastrous wars with Austria and Persia. His successor Ahmed I. a boy of fourteen, weak, incapable and cruel, terminated the war with Austria, by the humiliating peace of Sitwatorok in 1606, which indicated how far the decline had progressed; and the Persian war by the almost equally disgraceful peace of 1612. From 1617 to 1648 matters went from bad to worse in the Ottoman Empire; Mustapha I. was enervated and idiotic; Osman II., his nephew, so weak and worthless that he was strangled by the officers of his court; Murad IV., who ruled for seventeen years, the most cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant who ever occupied the Ottoman throne, a man who in five years (1632–1637) caused 25,000 persons to be strangled or beheaded, and who, in his drunken frenzy, was the terror of all who were about him; and Ibrahim I. (1640–1648) a debauchee and libertine, wholly under the control of his women and favorites, under whose imbecile management, disaster succeeded disaster, and revolt followed revolt.

The long reign of Mohammed IV. (1648–1687) was only redeemed from utter worthlessness by the exceptional ability of one of his Grand Viziers—Koprili—who, for fifteen years, stemmed the tide of corruption and infamy, though he achieved no great military successes. Russia and Persia were constantly distressing the Ottoman Empire on the North and the East, and the Tartars of the Crimea and the Don, who had hitherto been their most efficient allies, now began to take sides with their enemies. Mohammed IV. became so intemperate, that he was deposed in 1687, and died a drunkard, in

1692. His two brothers, Soliman II. and Ahmed II., reigned from 1687 to 1695, but were both sots, and utterly unworthy of notice.

Mustapha II. (1695–1703) was a man of more energy and character, and strove to introduce some reforms, but the court was so utterly corrupt, that he was dethroned and imprisoned. In 1699, he signed the Treaty of Carlowitz, relinquishing Hungary and Transylvania, and half of Sclavonia, and restoring to Venice most of her possessions in the Archipelago. Subsequent treaties, with Poland and Russia, surrendered to them large tracts of frontier, hitherto claimed by the Turks.

Ahmed III. (1703–1730) was placed on the throne by a revolt of the army, and twenty-seven years later deposed by the same means. He possessed very little force of character, but during the last twelve years of his reign was fortunate enough to have an able Grand Vizier. During his reign, Charles XII. of Sweden appeared in the field, and after being defeated, domiciled himself at Bender in Turkish territory, and attempted to stir up the Tartars and Moldavians to hostilities against Russia, with which power, Turkey after a long war was at peace. The Turks requested him to leave their territory, but he refused and defended himself with 300 Swedes, against 6,000 Turks and 20,000 Tartars. He was captured at last, and after a year's imprisonment in a Turkish castle, sent back to Sweden in 1713, by the mediation of England and Holland. A war with the Montenegrins—often repeated since—led to one with Venice, who refused to give up the fugitives from Montenegro, and this to one against Austria, who became the ally of Venice. This resulted in the surrender by the Turks of Croatia, Wallachia, Servia, and about half of Bosnia, with the important fortresses of Belgrade and Semendria.

Persia made a treaty with the Russian Czar, ceding to him, in return for promised aid, the whole southern shore of the Caspian Sea, which secured Russia's supremacy there. This led to another war with Russia.

Mahmoud I. (1730–1754) succeeded to the throne on the deposition of Ahmed III. His administration was only remarkable for another war with Persia, and afterward with Russia and Persia. The result of these wars did not materially change the condition of these countries. Some territory was lost, and some gained by each. All Europe, and a large part of Asia, was at war during most of this period, but Mahmoud was wise enough not to take a part in the conflicts of the other powers.

The brief reign of Osman III. (1754–1757) was entirely uneventful, but that of his successor, Mustapha III. (1757–1773) was characterized by war with Austria and Russia; by some of the most wily diplomacy between the Great Powers, and eventually by the heaviest losses, which the Ottoman Empire had yet experienced. By the disgraceful peace of Kütjük Kainardji (1776), the Crimean Tartars were turned over to Russia, together with the ports of Kertch, Jenikala, and Azof, the free navigation of the Black Sea, and the Sea of Marmora, and other commercial privileges; the partial independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the payment by Turkey of an indemnity of $3,375,000.

Abd-ul Hamid I., who reigned from 1774 to 1789, was a weak and incapable ruler, whose administration was constantly disturbed by revolts and corruption. There were serious revolts in Syria, and Egypt threatened war with Persia, and a new war with Russia and Austria, in the midst of which the Sultan died. His successor, Selim III. (1789 to 1807), made treaties of peace at Sistova and Jassy in 1791, yielding additional territory to the two

powers. The reign of Selim III. was one of great and almost constant changes among the European powers, France being at one time hostile to the Porte, and Russia with England, its ally; while Egypt was in revolt, and liable to capture from France; within one or two years Russia was in alliance with France; and at war with Turkey, and Russia and France were disputing about the portion which each should take in the eventual disruption of Turkey. Egypt became virtually independent, and while war was still raging between Turkey and Russia, the reforms introduced by the Sultan in the organization of his army caused a revolt, and Selim III. was cast into prison, and presently strangled. His successor, Mustapha IV., reigned but a single year, when he, too, was imprisoned and put to death.

Mahmoud II. (1808 to 1839) was the only really able sovereign Turkey has had for more than two hundred years. He was a man of great abilities and of high character; but he had fallen upon an evil time. His two immediate predecessors had been assassinated; a long and desperate war with Russia was in progress; the Wohabis (Moslem fanatics in Arabia, who had revolted from the sway of the Sultan) were not fully subdued, and Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, the instrument who had been used in their subjugation, was himself aspiring to independence. Servia, which had revolted in 1804, succeeded in securing to itself an independent government, paying only a moderate tribute to the Porte. Syria was in a ferment, through French influence and the machinations of Mehemet Ali; and Greece was already commencing that struggle which, twenty-two years later, resulted in her complete independence. Above all else, the Janissaries, the standing army which had for a hundred years or more

ruled sultans and ministry, which had strangled Selim III., and Mustapha IV., grown bold and insolent by its successes, undertook to dictate to Mahmoud II. what he should, and what he should not do, under the penalty of following the fate of his predecessors. Such bondage to this horde of ruffians was past endurance; but Mahmoud nursed his wrath and kept it warm, till the time when he could avenge the insults to himself and his predecessors effectually. Meanwhile, other and still more important matters claimed his attention. The favorable settlement with Servia had inflamed the desires of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, to obtain an equal measure of freedom; and then, as before and since, there were not wanting Russian nobles who stimulated those desires. Capo d'Istria, a Russian Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna, an artful politician, saw and sympathized with these anti-Turkish movements, both on the Danube and in Greece, and though he could not, in his official capacity, appear openly as the friend of the insurrectionists, he incited others to take the lead in these movements. A secret society was organized in Odessa, generally known as the Philhellenes, but really bearing the name of *Hetairia Philike*, or "Society of Friends," whose oath bound them to constant and life-long effort for the independence of their countries, and to irreconcilable hatred to tyrants and their followers. The members of the society were mostly Greeks, though its branches extended through Southern Russia, the Principalities, Albania, and Greece. The brothers Ypsilanti, Greeks by birth, but in the service of Russia, were the leaders of this society, and while Alexander organized revolt in Moldavia, his brother Nicholas stimulated Greece to revolution. This was in 1821. By the machinations of Prince Metternich, Russia was prevented from aiding

Moldavia; and Ali Pasha, of Janina, who had been a brigand and a mountain robber, then governor of the sandyak of Janina, and afterwards a revolutionary chief of the most sanguinary and ferocious character, was at last overcome and executed. The Greeks were defeated at Dragatshaw, but though the revolt was suppressed elsewhere, it could not be subdued in the mountains of the Hellenic peninsula. It was reported and generally believed that there was an extensive and well-arranged conspiracy to burn Constantinople and assassinate the Sultan; and that hoary-headed old sinner, Ali Pasha, during the siege of Janina which preceded its capture and his execution, often boasted to his foes, that he should be permitted to see it.

It was a lamentable, though perhaps, when we consider that the Sultan was a bigoted Turk, not an unnatural result, of this three-fold threatening of disaster, all proceeding from Greek sources,—the conspiracy against the city and himself, the uprising in Moldavia, and that in the Peloponnesus,—that Mahmoud should have given way to frantic rage, and let loose the passions of his Moslem subjects against Greek Christians in Constantinople, and in other towns of the empire. Thousands of innocent victims were sacrificed to their vengeance, without knowing why they were slain. On Easter-day the greatest of the Greek festivals, Gregorius, the patriarch of the Greek Church, in Constantinople, was executed at the door of his own church; and, as the greatest possible indignity which could be offered to it in the eyes of his countrymen, his body was delivered to Jews, to be dragged through the streets. Other ecclesiastics of high rank were executed in a similar way, as well as thousands of Greeks of all classes. The object of these atrocious butcheries was to quell the revolt by terror, and to pre-

vent its extension. In the years that followed, the Greeks and Albanians, whenever they had the opportunity, showed that they had been apt scholars in those lessons of ferocity. The war with Greece was disgraced by every species of cruelty and brutality, of which the human mind can conceive. In 1822, the Greeks adopted their first constitution at Piadha, and so bravely and stubbornly did they fight, that the Turks were compelled to call upon Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, to help them to subdue them. Mehemet Ali sent his son Ibrahim Pasha with an army and fleet to devastate Greece, and horrible as had been the outrages of the Turks, those inflicted by the Egyptians were infinitely worse. At the close of 1825, Missolonghi, the Greek stronghold, surrendered, and the English, French, and Russian fleets sailed for the Mediterranean, to put an end to the horrors of the strife, and finally, in the naval battle of Navarino, destroyed the entire Turco-Egyptian fleet. The Greeks then elected Capo d'Istria their president. The Ottoman Porte still refused to yield the independence of Greece, and Russia proclaimed war against it early in 1828, and England and France maintained a hostile neutrality. Russia over-matched her antagonist in this war, which terminated in 1830, and gained as a result of the war, a part of Armenia, an indemnity of twenty million dollars, the demolition of the frontier Turkish forts, the partial independence of the Danubian principalities, and the concession of the independence of Greece; but she paid dearly for her victory. One hundred and sixty-four thousand of her troops perished—not in battle—but from disease and want of food.

But before the result was reached, Mahmoud felt that the time had come for him to take vengeance on the Janissaries. He re-organized his army in 1825,

raising a force, which was regularly drilled under his own superintendence, had a common uniform, and was exercised by foreign officers in the tactics of the armies of other nations. This body being formed, he ordered, in 1826, a number of the Janissaries to be incorporated with the new levies, as a preparatory step to the enrollment of the whole, and the complete suppression of this turbulent order of soldiers. As he supposed would be the case, these peaceful means failed to effect his purpose. Proud of their distinct and separate organization, accustomed to consider themselves a privileged class, opposed to every change, and of an insubordinate temper, they refused to obey the mandate, gathered to the Atmeidan, the ancient race-course of the Romans, their ordinary place of assembly, and imperiously demanded the heads of those who had advised the measure.

The Sultan apprehended the peculiar character of the crisis. He felt at once that the hour was come when he must either rid himself of this factious soldiery, or submit forever, and more completely, to the humiliating bondage of their control. In this emergency he ordered the "sandjak sheriffe," or sacred standard of the empire, to be unfolded, and resolved to commit himself to the loyalty of the people. This standard, which was supposed to have belonged to the prophet himself, was preserved with care in the seraglio, and revered as the most solemn relic of him possessed by his disciples. It was never unrolled, except on great occasions, and had not been exhibited for more than half a century. The idea of appealing to its protection was a most politic one, as all classes, except the rebels, rallied round the revered flag. It was conveyed in formal procession to the mosque of Achmet, near the Atmeidan, attended by the Sultan, his court, and household, the magistrates of the

city, the new troops, the corps of artillery, and a crowd of the speedily armed populace. The Janissaries, having been placed out of the protection of the law by a *fetwa** of the grand mufti, were assailed in the square, and three hours sufficed to annihilate the body, whose military ascendancy had once made the sovereigns of Europe tremble abroad, as it had the Sultans at home. Numbers fell on the spot beneath the fire of the artillery, after a vain resistance; but how many was never positively known.† Others escaped to perish miserably in their barracks. Those stationed in the provinces had afterwards the alternative offered them of submission or the sword; and thus the formidable corps was forever abolished. Mahmoud decreed the extinction of the name. Their dress was prohibited; their camp-kettles, which had so often given the signal of revolt, were destroyed; their barracks were taken down, or appropriated to other purposes; and every trace of the long-dreaded militia of the capital was swept away.

From this period, the year 1826, Mahmoud gave free utterance to the magical word "reform;" and, though opposed in his plans by the inveterate prejudices of his subjects, while his own attention was distracted by foreign hostilities, it was introduced, to a great extent, into every department of the State. Pantaloons and frockcoats were substituted in the costume of the military for long flowing robes and loose shalwars; and the "fez," or cap of red cloth, took the place of the turban. Even the Ulema‡ were ordered to lay aside their distinctive turbans and adopt the red skull-cap, a measure of more importance than it seems, as it tended to amal-

* *Fetwa*, a decree of excommunication.

† Blochwitz states the number as more than fifteen thousand.

‡ *Ulema*, the ecclesiastical body at the capital; literally those learned in the law, *i. e.* of the Koran.

gamate a proud and powerful order with the mass of the community. While subjecting his recruits to European training, the Sultan underwent the discipline himself, and persevered, until he could ride upon the saddle as well as any cavalry officer, and put a regiment through its evolutions like a European colonel. With an iron hand he repressed disaffection, and visited with instant punishment, as guilty of treason, those who ventured to murmur at his reforms. But not unfrequently prompt proceedings led to the execution of the innocent for the guilty.

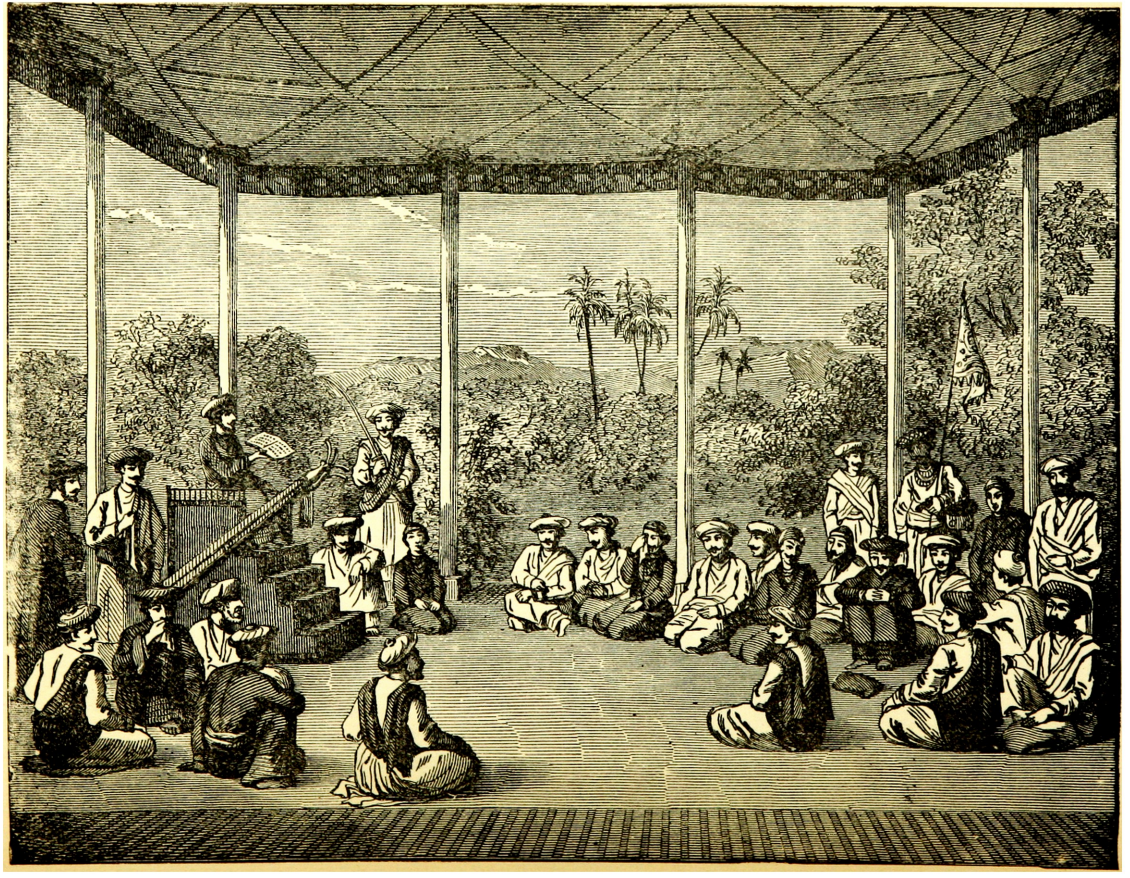
His new army was not destined to be long without employment. The Algerian war which almost immediately followed the acknowledgment of Greek independence, dragged along for six or seven years, finally ending in the cession of most of the country to France. In 1832, the ambitious Viceroy of Egypt resolved to conquer Syria, and sent his army there on a frivolous pretext. Mahmoud ordered him to withdraw, and directed that both parties should bring their complaints to him. Mehemet refused, and speedily conquering Syria, crossed the Taurus and defeating the Sultan's army on the plains of Konieh, advanced upon Constantinople. The enemies of Mahmoud in the city, were very willing to see him overthrown, and but for the intervention of Russia, he must have lost his empire and his life. The Viceroy was defeated, and a treaty made yielding him Syria, for which, however, he was to pay a heavy tribute; and to the Czar, the closing of the Dardanelles for ten years to every enemy of his empire.

But Mehemet Ali was not quite satisfied with what he had gained by this first war, and refusing to pay tribute any longer, he renewed the war in 1839, and it was in progress when the Sultan died, July 2, 1839.

In 1837, Mahmoud had proclaimed a new State organization entirely reforming the administration of civil affairs, but these reforms were still in a transitional state at the time of his death. Though a man flawed by many crimes, and by the circumstances in which he was placed, and the evil times upon which he had fallen, compelled to do many things abhorrent to his nature, and a strong adherent to the faith of Islam, Mahmoud II. deserves the credit of having honestly and earnestly endeavored, amid the strongest and most persistent opposition, to reform the Turkish nation internally and externally.

If there had been any considerable capacity for improvement in the race; even a tithe of what Peter the Great and the two Alexanders have found in the Russians, the Osmanlì race ought to-day, to have been a great, powerful, and intelligent nation. But the Moslem Turk is utterly incapable of any considerable advance. Both his religion, and the habits and character of the race forbid it. It is to be regretted that this bold, brave reformer should, in the later years of his reign, have followed the bad example of many of his predecessors, and have became addicted to intemperate habits, notwithstanding the absolute prohibition of the Koran.

His son Abd-ul Medjid (1839–1861) succeeded him, and at first continued the reforms which his father had commenced. He had on his hands the war with Mehemet Ali, and soon found himself in a perilous position. His army was defeated at Nessib in the Valley of the Euphrates, and the Turkish admiral proved a traitor, and carried off the fleet with him to the Viceroy. At this moment the European powers interfered, and offered Mehemet Ali the hereditary government of Egypt and



READING THE KORAN, THE SACRED BOOK OF THE MAHOMETANS.

the Pashalic of Acre; he refused these terms and the fleets of the allied powers at once proceeded to the coast of Syria, captured Beirût, Said, and St. Jean d'Acre, and drove him out of Syria. A treaty of peace followed, by which the Viceroy was confirmed in the possession of Egypt, which was made hereditary, on the payment of tribute to the Porte, and in other respects he was placed on the footing of a vassal pasha, subject to the laws of the empire. Under the wise counsels of his Grand Vizier, Redshid Pasha, and the English ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the earlier years of Abd-ul Medjid's reign gave great promise of improvement. The Tanzimat or Hatti Scheriff of Gulhane, a decree conceding equal rights and justice to all classes of Ottoman subjects, was promulgated, November 3, 1839, and was received with satisfaction by the more enlightened classes, and especially by the Christian subjects of the Porte. But the ignorant, bigoted, and fanatical portion of the Turkish population opposed it strongly, and were prompted by it, to renewed outrages against the Christian inhabitants. Had Abd-ul-Medjid possessed his father's firmness and resolution, he would have enforced the laws drawn in accordance with the Tanzimat, and have brought those who opposed it to prompt and condign punishment; but he was weak, apathetic, and controlled by the women of his harem, and though he would occasionally, under the remonstrances of Lord de Redcliffe, rouse himself, and issue some new edict like the decree of 1850, which proclaimed that the professors of all religions were equal in the eye of the law, yet having made the effort required for this, he would very soon relapse into his previous state of apathy, and the edict would remain a dead letter on the statute book until he was again goaded to action. So well was this understood

by the Turks, that, after Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had resigned as Ambassador, whenever any outrage or act of oppression was perpetrated upon the Christians or Missionaries, and they declared their intention of appealing to the Sultan, they would be met with the taunting reply, "Oh! Lord Stratford isn't in Constantinople any more."

For the first fourteen years of his reign there were no wars, except some contentions between the Druses and Maronites, and some predatory violence of certain tribes of Arabs in Syria and Mesopotamia. In the Hungarian war of 1849, Turkey was favorable to Hungary, and though she did not give military assistance to the Hungarians, received their refugees with open arms.

The war with Russia in 1853–56, in which England, France, and Sardinia were the allies of Turkey, and Austria a secret helper, was perhaps the only war between the two powers, Russia and Turkey, in which the latter had not been directly or indirectly the aggressor. We speak of that war more at length elsewhere. Suffice it to say here, that Russia was the loser, as she deserved to be. The European statesmen endeavored to improve the opportunity afforded by the results of this war, to enforce upon the Sultan the necessity of more liberal and just treatment of the Christian populations of the empire; they succeeded, to the extent of procuring the promulgation of the Hatti-Humayoum of 1856, which like all the edicts which had preceded it, has never been enforced.

In the latter years of his reign Abd-ul Medjid surpassed all his predecessors in reckless extravagance, borrowing immense sums which were lavished on his favorites, or expended to gratify the whims of his odalisques.

ISMAIL PASHA, KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.

THE DANCING DERVISHES OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

He died in June, 1861, leaving behind him no desirable reputation.

Of his brother and successor Abd-ul Aziz, who reigned from 1861 to 1876 not much that is good can be said; weaker in mind than his brother, he very soon lapsed into habits of dissipation and extravagance. Some of his ministers were men of ability. A general insurrection of the Greeks in Candia and other islands of the Archipelago, in 1866, was put down with all the old time barbarity and cruelty of the Turks. The decrees of the preceding reign were not enforced, and the condition of corruption, oppression and misrule was, day by day, growing more intolerable. The Christian rayahs, or farmers of the provinces, were robbed by the tax-farmers, beaten and abused by Turkish officials, until life was made a weariness. The finances of the nation were in a most deplorable condition; no interest, or next to none, paid on loans; the credit of the government entirely destroyed, and a large deficit, often of fifty or sixty millions of dollars in the annual revenues; and, meanwhile, the Sultan was building a magnificent new palace, every year, which, when completed, he never entered.

Revolts commenced in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, on account of the cruel oppression of the farmers, and these were put down with great severity; the tendency to revolt extended to Bulgaria, and it was suppressed there, with atrocities which we have recorded elsewhere, and which are enough to make even the white paper blush for shame.

At length, thoroughly disgusted with his imbecility, the ruling classes in Constantinople demanded the deposition of Abd-ul Aziz from power; this took place May 30, 1876, and was followed, a week later, by his suicide. He was succeeded by his nephew Murad V., who, in a

reign of three months, proved so imbecile, that he too was deposed, and August 31, 1876, his second nephew, Abd-ul Hamid II., took his place. Of him we speak at length elsewhere; and thus conclude our historical sketch of Turkey.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGION, EDUCATION, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE OSMANLÌS, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF TURKEY.

MAHOMETANISM, in a Moslem State, is not only the State religion, but it is the fundamental law of the State. All government must be based on it, and the sovereign who dares to depart from its principles, is sure to be deposed, and almost equally sure to be put to death. The organization of the State is, as a consequence, more thoroughly ecclesiastical, than any other known to civilization. The Sultan or Padishah, though he possesses the power of life and death over his subjects, is not in the highest sense, an autocrat; he must consult with the Ulemà, a politico-ecclesiastical body composed of the Mussulman clergy or Mollahs, and the interpreters of the law according to the Koran, or Muftis. The "Sheik-ul-Islam" or head of the church, is the representative of both, in the government, and he at times finds it necessary to consult with the Ulemà or individual members of it, before giving an opinion to the Sultan.

But before proceeding to give a more full account of the politico-ecclesiastical organization of this most remarkable of the Mahometan empires, let us examine briefly what Mahometanism is, and how far it is responsible for the want of progress, and even the retrograde movement, of every nation which has professed it.

Of all the religions of which our world is so full, none bears the evidence of higher native genius, in its construction, than Mahometanism. No other, except the divinely inspired one communicated to man through the Scriptures, was ever so admirably suited to meet the wants, and gratify the wishes of the Oriental man. Yet the difference between the two is as wide as the universe. The religion of Christ is a religion of self-denial, of beneficence and good will to man; of charity, in its best and highest sense; of sacrifices for others without hope of earthly reward; its recompenses are spiritual; its enjoyments are all or mostly in the future, and its promises of salvation and future happiness are not the result of merit, but only of faith in Him, who has made an atonement for us, by sacrificing His life for ours. The religion of Mahomet is, in the first place, a Deism; it recognizes God as sustaining but one relation, that of Creator, to man; but it deifies Mahomet as his prophet and apostle; and while it commends certain not difficult virtues to man, its rewards are all sensuous, and the life and work it inculcates are all connected with the indulgence of the grossest passions. The Koran commends polygamy, it incites the faithful to propagate Mahometanism by the sword; it makes the highest joys of its sensual heaven, the reward of the destruction of the infidel, and inculcates a fatalism which makes the Moslem believer utterly indifferent to life, since he is sure of the joys of paradise, if he has only observed the five commandments of Islam—prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, and war against the infidel. The religion of Mahomet, like most false religions, acknowledges no connection between morality and faith. The most devout Moslem may be a murderer, a thief, a criminal of the deepest dye; but if he prays regularly

and fasts at the proper time, and if, above all, he makes war upon the infidel, he is sure of a place in paradise. He must not drink wine, but distilled liquors he may indulge in, to intoxication. To his co-religionists he must tell the truth, but he is under no obligation to waste the truth upon an infidel or a Christian dog. He ought not to steal from a Mussulman, but the property of the infidel is the reward of the true believer. He should show kindness to helpless animals, and be merciful to them; but why should he waste his compassion on a Christian dog, who is destined to burn forever in Gehenna?

Such a religion, so inwrought in every political, social, and moral relation of every Moslem believer, cannot but have a powerful influence upon the character, and capacity of a nation, composed of such believers, for progress and advancement in civilization; and facts justify the position of some of our ablest historians, that any real civilization is impossible for the Turk, until he abandons the Koran and the faith of Mahomet. Of course, in the light and knowledge which forces itself upon nations surrounded by a higher civilization in this nineteenth century, the continued existence of such a nation is a struggle, which can have but one of two terminations; either it must abandon Islamism, or it must go to the wall. Unhappily, while all that was vital in the Mahometan faith has been gradually eaten out in the larger cities, the empty shell remains, and is strong enough to bring about their destruction as a nation. In the country and the provinces, the old bigotry yet remains. As long as the Turks entertained no doubt of the superiority of their religion, they zealously practised its tenets, and only revealed the natural deformities of a system, which, while it enforces and exaggerates the

value of certain specific social virtues, more than makes up for it, by giving the reins to all the worst passions inherent in human nature. In those days of Turkish blissful ignorance, the bigoted follower of Mahomet was simply grossly licentious, brutal, cruel, formally polite but coarsely boorish, and living upon the labor and sufferings of his Christian subjects, or the poorer of his own creed. In those days, the European *giaour* (Christian or infidel) could not show his face in a Turkish mosque without danger of assassination on the spot; nor could he travel in the land, except in disguise, armed to the teeth, and accompanied by a trusty guard. But the last fifty years have wrought a great change in the ideas of the Moslem. He has discovered, that he lies at the bottom of the ladder of civilization, while the giaours are at the top. Devout Moslems are free to confess that the Mussulman faith has perished from the land. With exceptions that are fast growing more and more rare, the few forms yet negligently practised, are the result of old habit, rather than of present conviction. Attachment to race and caste, the remaining hatred of anything "infidel," and the love of power, still keep together the crumbling elements of the Turkish nationality. The people, brought into near contact with European civilization, have lost their old faith, while they have adopted nothing as yet in its stead; and they are burdened with the vicious character, the uncontrolled passions, the low, degraded tastes which their religion so long and so assiduously fostered in them. They are as yet, in general, unable to make up their minds to seek a better system of faith or morals, or a sounder civilization, by the pride which refuses to cast the superannuated pages of the Koran into the flames. Yet while this description applies to the greater part of those who still cling to the remains of

their dead faith, it should be said that considerable numbers are inquiring into the evidences of Christianity, and the truth or falsehood of Mahometanism, and they often discuss these topics among themselves; the prosperity of Christian Europe is doubtless an argument for the correctness of its religious belief, which is quite unanswerable to many minds; and prophecies of the speedy fall of the Turkish commonwealth are freely circulated and generally credited. A small number have renounced their old faith, and have been received by baptism into the communion of the Armenian, Protestant, and Romish Churches. There can be no doubt that the collapse of the Turkish empire in Europe, would be followed by the conversion to Christianity of large numbers of these Mahometan inquirers. It is, however, worthy of notice that the sincerest converts among them show more or less of the vicious education and training they received under the influence of Mahometanism; it is the second generation alone, the children of these converts, who appear to be free from the brutalizing effects of the system.

The Christians of Turkey are in a condition much more favorable to improvement, so far as it depends upon their own mental and moral preparation. They had been brought to perhaps the lowest degree of degradation possible for nominal Christians, by causes, whose severity and long continuance are unparalleled in the world's history. The Moslem had most cruelly oppressed them for four centuries; their schools had long been closed, their books destroyed, and they had been compelled to give up the use of their own Christian tongue, and to speak only Turkish; they were reduced to beggary, and worked for their living with an incessant and bitter persecution constantly pursuing them, not so much

carried on by the government as by the whole ruling race. But Christian Europe has at last come to their aid —lukewarmly and slowly, and sometimes very unwisely; but still their condition has been vastly ameliorated; they enjoy a considerable measure of security for life and property, at least compared to their former state; and their improvement in wealth, and the rapid progress of education among them, sufficiently attest the fact, that however degraded by oppression, their religious faith possesses all the elements of vitality. The destruction of learning had brought their Christianity to the condition of a degrading idolatry; but with the progress of education, they are every day purifying their faith, and thousands of them, in all parts of the empire, have already rejected the unscriptural superstitions and errors which had accumulated during the ages of ignorance, and are worthy illustrations of the ennobling and civilizing influence of Evangelical Christianity. The Christians of Turkey, though their masters still refuse to allow them to testify before a court of justice, and thus keep them in the position of slaves, whose lives and property are in the hands of men of a strange faith, are yet fast taking a position of moral and intellectual superiority to the ruling race.

There are, however, many interesting traits in the character of the populations of Turkey, which belong to the East generally, and distinguish it from the West. One of the most prominent of these is hospitality. Indeed, all classes alike, Moslem and Christian, may truly be said to be given to hospitality, though every one practises it according to his means. No question is asked; distinction of nation or religion, of rich or poor, is not thought of. The poorest village, where no khan exists for the accommodation of the traveler, has its guest-cham-

ber. The Kiahaya, or head man of the village, is there bound to entertain strangers at his own table, and to furnish them bedding for the night, even though they are unable to give a present when they depart, as the great majority never do. The only means to prevent the abuse of such hospitality, is to enforce the rule that no traveler shall stop more than one night, except in case of sickness or bad weather.

The Turkish idea of the rights of hospitality, however, materially differs from that of the Arabs: with the latter, the eating of bread and salt with them, or the tasting of the camel's milk in the great pan, lays them under obligation to sacrifice their very lives in defending yours. Not so with the Turks: for they often discover by the conversation of the guest at the village "room" the probable value of what he is carrying, and the route he proposes to take, and waylay and rob him the next day! But this hospitality is not practised in large towns, where provision is made for travelers at the public khans. There may be something akin to this idea, in the superstition, found, however, among Mohammedans alone, which forbids any harm being done to animals or birds that seek the companionship of man. Dogs abound in the streets, and large sums are spent in feeding them. Birds of prey sit upon the roofs, and come down into the streets to dispute the offal with the canine race; the inhabitants thus save themselves the trouble of removing it to a distance; even the dead cattle are allowed to remain where they drop, until carried off piecemeal by these scavengers. A house is highly favored when the storks make their nests upon the roof, though they sometimes drop snakes and other reptiles among its occupants. The turtle-doves coo familiarly on the roofs, and walk undisturbed in the streets of Turkish towns. Christians

do not tolerate such freedom on the part of the brute creation. But among the Turks, the idea seems in some measure to be applied to vermin itself. There is no probability that the treatment of animals by the Turks to which we refer, arises from any feeling of kindness on their part, as some travelers have represented; for the contrary is too evident. Indeed there is perhaps no country in the world, in which brutes are treated with more wanton cruelty. Beasts of burden are probably made to do more hard work, are whipped more mercilessly, and are more scantily fed, than anywhere else, unless it be among the Tartars of the Don and Crimea. The street dogs, which are fed in a good measure by public charity, and for whose support large sums of money are willed by the wealthy Turks, bear, many of them, marks of the cruelty of man, gaping wounds evidently made with the knife. Some years ago the government authorities, finding that the dogs of Constantinople had become a nuisance not to be endured, had large numbers of them enticed on board a vessel, from which they were landed upon a rocky and desert islet in the sea of Marmora, and left to devour one another. One who is familiar with the cruel and treacherous temper of the Turks, is no way surprised to learn that, at the destruction of Deir El Kamar, during the Syrian massacres, it was the Turkish soldiery, who, after inducing the Christians to take shelter in their fort, held them one by one for the Druses to cut off their heads, and that while the latter killed the men and male children alone, the Turks, who had no old feud to settle, but were actuated by bigotry, covetousness, and a sanguinary disposition alone, spared neither sex nor age!

Mr. Urquhart who spent many years in Turkey, says of their alleged temperance:

"It is supposed by many abroad that the Mohammedan law, which forbids the drinking of wine, is an effectual preventive of intemperance. As spirits, however, are not forbidden, this law produces rather the contrary effect. Did the people use only the mild wines of the country, there would doubtless be little or no drunkenness. But the great call for *raki*, and the higher price paid for it, leads them to manufacture it from their grapes, instead of wine, and the consequence is the prevalence of a degrading and impoverishing intemperance. The greatest drinkers are doubtless to be found among the wealthy Turks; some of them seem to live for no other object. Nor does polygamy, at least that of the Koran, meet with better success in producing chastity. A man's wealth is usually told among them by his corpulence, betraying the fact that they indulge in the pleasures of the table to the extent of their means. Nearly all the chief officers of the empire are remarkable for their portliness; some of them cannot move without assistance. Among the Turks, despite the plurality of their wives, a large family of children is of extremely rare occurrence, while the contrary is the case among the Christians. Indeed, the Moslem population is evidently and notably diminishing in all parts of the empire, while the Christian as rapidly increases.

"Although the government of the Porte presents an array of ministers and officers which bears some resemblance to European governments, yet the fundamental idea which pervades it is the patriarchal theory. The Sultan is absolute in all things, and has a recognized, unlimited control over the lives and property of all his subjects. Every man too, is absolute in his own house; his children usually remain at home and have all things in common, being subject to their father until his death, when they separate into distinct households. Among the Christians, it is by no means uncommon to find families of 30 and 60 members, all living under the same roof: we know of one which numbers 123. Among the Turks there are few children, but if the man is wealthy, he has three or four wives, each of whom has several slaves, to whom the master has free access. And in society generally, more particularly in the interior, the country is pervaded by a sort of feudal system. There is, indeed, a judge, cadi, whose duty it is to administer justice; and a governor, who is head of

the insignificant police. But the doings of these people are wholly controlled by their pecuniary interests; they hold their offices during a very short time, and endeavor to make them the most profitable they can. The people, therefore, are compelled to look elsewhere for the protection of life and property. Every man of wealth and influence thus becomes a sort of nucleus to which the commonalty gather and cling for their safety. Presents are from time to time made to the great man; he is put under obligation in various ways, and when some difficult task actually occurs for him to perform, he is offered money, *anything* he may covet. There is, of course, very little business done in the courts of justice, and even what is carried there is in reality decided privately outside. This system appears to satisfy the wants of the people, and it is acted out, in spite of Tanzimat and all the other dust thrown in the eyes of Europe."

Mr. Urquhart remarks concerning the manners and customs of the Turks:

"The customs of Orientals have ever been in striking contrast to those of the people of the West, and though Turkey is rapidly undergoing many changes in this respect, owing to the inroads of European civilization, yet these differences still meet the stranger at every step. With Orientals, the shaving of the head is generally adopted as an old and useful custom, for it conduces to cleanliness; while with us it remains only as a punishment. We uncover our heads and take off our gloves before a superior, and walk into his presence with our best boots or shoes upon our feet, while they take off their shoes, carefully cover their hands, and draw their turbans or caps lower down upon their foreheads: the same is true of the act of worship. With them, the men bare their necks and arms; women do the same with us. Our women appear in public in gay colors, and our men in sombre hues; while with them, it is the men, who walk the streets decked in all the colors of the rainbow, embroidered with silver and gold cord, and the women carefully veil themselves from head to foot, and show their finery only to their husbands or their own sex. In Turkey, the ladies wear trousers, and many gentlemen petticoats. The ceilings of their rooms are elaborately painted, while

TURKISH LADIES VISITING.

the walls are plain; it is the contrary with us. With them, it is the ladies who wait upon the gentlemen; while with us, the gentlemen wait upon the ladies. The European lies in bed with his feet well tucked and his head bare; the Turk cannot sleep without extra wrappings about his head, over which he moreover draws up his coverlet, while his bare feet stick out at the other end. We wash our hands before eating; and they, when they have finished. We consider dancing a polite recreation, in which all take a part for their own gratification; they deem it a disgraceful avocation, and consider the pleasure to be only in looking on. In England the religion of the State lays taxes upon sectarians; in Turkey the ecclesiastical property of sectarians goes free. In fine, the East presents ever renewed contrasts to the West. Nor is it an easy task to decide which of the two hemispheres is right. Each has a good reason to act as it does; and the customs of either are so well fitted to its circumstances, that a change would probably, in many cases, do more harm than good, and would, moreover, require innumerable other changes to follow suit. The real improvement to be sought for each, lies in a better education of the masses.

"In Turkey, the room is the principle of all architecture; it is the unit, of which the house is the aggregate. The architect, as the proprietor, thinks only of the apartments, and there no deviation from fixed principles is tolerated. Money and space are equally sacrificed to give to each chamber its fixed form, light, and facility of access, without having to traverse a passage or another apartment to reach it. Every room is composed of a square, to which is added a rectangle, so that it forms an oblong. It must be unbroken in its continuity on three sides. The door or doors must be on one side only, which, then, is the '*bottom*;' the windows at another and the opposite side, which, then, is the '*top*.' The usual number of the windows at the top is four, standing contiguous to each other. There may be, also, windows at the 'sides,' but then they are close to the windows at the top, and they ought to be in pairs, one on each side; and, in a perfect room, there ought to be twelve windows, four on each of the three sides of the square: but as this condition cannot always be realized, the room in each house, so constructed, is generally called the kiosk, as kiosks, or detached rooms, are always so con-

structed. Below the square is an oblong space, generally depressed a step; sometimes, in large apartments, separated by a balustrade, and sometimes by columns. This is the space allotted to the servants, who constantly attend in a Turkish establishment, and regularly relieve each other. The bottom of the room is lined with wooden work. Cupboards, for the stowage of bed ding; open spaces, like pigeon-holes, for vases, with water, sherbet, or flowers; marble slabs and basins, for a fountain, with painted landscapes as a background. In these casements are the doors. At the sides, in the angles, or in the center of this lower portion, and over the doors, curtains are hung, which are held up by attendants as you enter. It is this form of apartment which gives to their houses and kiosks so irregular, yet so picturesque an air. The rooms are jutted out, and the outline deeply cut in, to obtain the light requisite for each room. A large space is consequently left vacant in the center, from which all the apartments enter; this center hall, termed *Divan Hanéh*, gives great dignity to an eastern mansion.

"The square portion of the room is occupied on the three sides by a broad sofa, with cushions all round, leaning against the wall, and rising to the sill of the windows, so that, as you lean on them, you command the view all round. The effect of this arrangement of the seats and windows is, that you have always your back to the light, and your face to the door. The continuity of the windows, without intervening wall or object, gives a perfect command of the scene without; and your position in sitting makes you feel, though in a room, constantly in the presence of external nature. The light falls also in a single mass, and from above, affording pictorial effects dear to the artist. The windows are seldom higher than four feet. Above the windows a cornice runs all round the room, and from it hang festoons of drapery. Above this, up to the ceiling, the wall is painted with arabesque flowers, fruit, and arms. Here there is a second row of windows, with the glass set in gypsum in ornamental figures. There are curtains on the lower windows, but not on the upper ones. The roof is highly painted and ornamented. It is divided into two parts. The one which is over the square portion of the room occupied by the triclinium is also square, and sometimes vaulted; the other is an oblong portion over the lower part of

the room close to the door: this is generally lower and flat. The sofa, which runs round three sides of the square, is raised about 14 inches; deep fringe, or festoons of puckered cloth, hang down to the floor. The sofa is a little higher before than behind, and is about 4 feet in width. The angles are the seats of honor, though there is no idea of putting two persons on the same footing by placing one in one corner, and another in the other. The corner first seen from the door is the chief place; then the sofa along the top, and general proximity to the chief corner. But even here the Eastern's respect for men above circumstances is shown. The relative value of the positions all round the room are changed, should the person of the highest rank accidentally occupy another place. These combinations are intricate, but they are uniform. So far the room is ancient Greek. The only thing Turkish is a thin square cushion or *shilteh*, which is laid on the floor in the angle formed by the divan, and is the representative of the sheepskin of the Turcoman's tent. It is by far the most comfortable place; and here, not unfrequently, the grandees, when not in ceremony, place themselves, and then their guests sit upon the floor around, personifying a group of their nomade ancestors. * * *

"The Osmanlî guest rides into the court, and dismounts on the stone for that purpose, close to the landing-place. He has been preceded and announced by an attendant. A servant of the house gives notice to his master in the selamlik, not by proclaiming his name aloud, but by whispering the visitor's name. The host, according to his rank, proceeds to meet him at the foot of the stairs, at the top of the stairs, at the door of the room, or he meets him in the middle of the room, or he only steps down from the sofa, or stands up on the sofa, or merely makes a motion to do so. It belongs to the guest to salute first. As he pronounces the words '*Selam aleikum*,'* he bends down as if to touch or take up the dust, or the host's robe, with his right hand, and then carries it to his lips and forehead. The master of the house immediately returns, '*Aleikum Selam*,'† with the same action, so that they appear to bend down together. This salutation is given to Moslems alone; a Turk is sure to lose caste with his own people, if he make even the common motion with the hand to a

* Peace be unto you. † And to you peace.

Christian; a nod of the head is enough for him. This greeting quickly despatched, without pause or interval, instead of pointing the way, and disputing who is to go first, the master immediately precedes his guest into the room, and then, if they are equals or the guest be the superior, turning round, makes way for his passage to the corner, which if he refuses to take, he may for a moment insist upon, and each may take the other's arm, as leading him to that part. With the exception of this single point the whole ceremonial is performed with a smoothness and regularity, as if executed by machinery. The guest being seated, it is now the turn of the master of the house, and of the other guests, if any, to salute the new comer, if a stranger from a distance, by the words, '*Hosh geldin, sefa geldin;*' * and if a neighbor, by the words, '*Sabahiniz hairolah,*' '*aksham sherifler hairolah,*' † etc., according to the time of day, repeating the same action already described. The guest returns each salute separately. There is no question of introduction or presentation. It would be an insult to the master of the house not to salute his guest. The master then orders the pipes and coffee, by the words, '*Caïvé smarla;*' ‡ or, if for people of low degree, '*Caïvé getir;*' § or if the guest is considered the host—that is, if he is of superior rank to the host—he orders, or the master asks from him permission to do so. The pipes having been cleared away on the entrance of the guest of distinction, the attendants now reappear with pipes, as many servants as guests, and, after collecting in the lower part of the room, they step up together, or nearly so, on the floor, in the center of the triclinium, and then radiate off to the different guests, measuring their steps so as to arrive at once, or with a graduated interval. The pipe, which is from five to seven feet in length, is carried in the right hand, poised upon the middle finger, with the bowl forward, and the mouthpiece towards the servant's breast, or over his shoulder. He measures with his eye a distance from the mouth of the guest to a spot on the floor, corresponding with the length of the pipe he carries. As he approaches, he halts, places the bowl of the pipe upon the spot, then whirling the stick gracefully round, while he makes a stride forward with one foot, presents the

* Welcome! welcome! † Good morning, good evening. ‡ Serve coffee.
§ Bring coffee.

amber and perhaps jeweled mouthpiece within an inch or two of the guest's mouth. He then drops on the knee, and raising the bowl of the pipe from the ground, places under it a brass platter (*tepsi*) which he carried in his left hand. This servant is called a chibookji.

"Next comes coffee. If the word has been, '*Caïvé smarla*,' the *kaïvehji* presents himself at the bottom of the room, on the edge of the raised floor, supporting on the palms of both hands, at the height of his breast, a small tray containing the little coffee-pots and cups, entirely concealed with rich brocade. The attendants immediately cluster around him, the brocade covering is raised from the tray, and thrown over the *kaïvehji's* shoulders. When each attendant has got his cup ready, they turn round at once and proceed in the direction of the different guests, measuring their steps as before. The small cups (*finjan, flinjan*) are placed in siver holders (*zarf*), of the same form as the cup, but spreading a little at the bottom: these are of open silver work, or of filigree; they are sometimes gold and jeweled, and sometimes fine china or brass. This the attendant holds between the point of the finger and thumb, carrying it before him, with the arm slightly bent. When he has approached close to the guest, he halts for a second, and, stretching downwards his arm, brings the cup with a sort of easy swing to the vicinity of the receiver's mouth, who, from the way in which the attendant holds it, can take the tiny offering without risk of spilling the contents, or of touching the attendant's hand. Crank and rickety as these coffee-cups seem to be, I have never, during nine years, seen a cup of coffee spilt in a Turkish house; and with such soft and eel-like movements do the attendants glide about, that, though long pipes and the winding snakes of *narguilehs** cover the floor, when coffee is presented by the numerous attendants, you never see an accident of any kind, a pipe stepped on, or a *narguileh* swept over by their flowing robes, though the difficulty of picking their steps is still further increased by the habit of retiring backwards, and of presenting, in so far as possible, whether in servants or in guests, the face to the person served or addressed. When coffee has been presented, the servant retires to the bot-

* *Narguileh*, the Turkish pipe, which has a long, flexible tube, for conveying the smoke of the tobacco through water.

tom of the room, where he stands with hands crossed, watching the cup he has presented, and has to carry away. But not to interfere with the guest's fingers, he has now to make use of another manœuvre to get possession of it. The guest holds out the cup by the silver *zarf;* the attendant, opening one hand, places it under, then brings the palm of the other upon the top of the cup; the guest relinquishes his hold, and the attendant retires backward with the cup thus secured. After finishing his cup of coffee, each guest makes his acknowledgment to the master of the house, by the salutation above described, called *temena*, which is in like manner returned; and the master of the house, or he who is in his place, may make the same acknowledgment to any guest whom he is inclined particularly to honor. This practice of the *temena* after refreshment has given way of late years in the best circles. But in this most important portion of Turkish ceremonials, the combinations are far too numerous to be detailed. When the guest retires, it is always after asking leave to go. From a similar custom has probably remained our expression 'taking *leave*,' and the French '*prendre congé*.' To this question the master of the house replies, '*Devlet ikbal-ileh*,' or '*saadet ileh*,' or '*saghlig ileh*,' (according to the rank of his guest), which expressions mean, 'with the fortune of a prince,' 'with prosperity,' 'with health.' He then gets up and proceeds before his guest to the points to which he thinks fit to conduct him. He here stops short; the retiring guest comes up, says, '*Allaha smarladuk*,' * to which the host replies, '*Allaha emanet oloon*,' † going through the same ceremonies as before, but on both sides the utmost expedition is used to prevent embarrassment, and not to keep each other on their legs.

"The law forbids any one going out after dark without a lantern, except in the streets of the very few towns which are partially lighted with gas. This is a general law over the East, and Europeans, infringing it, occasionally get locked up for the night. The safest way is to conform to the customs of the country we live in. The custom is considered to be a measure of the police, which is to show who are thieves and who are honest men. It is a matter of course that it answers no better than the law,

* May God reward you! † May God receive or bless you!

rarely enforced, by which travelers are forbidden to carry arms on the high road, is effectual in preventing highway robbery.

"The Turkish language has borrowed many Arabic and Persian words; and the alphabet is the same as the Arabic, with a few additional letters. It is expressive, soft, and musical, easy to speak, but difficult to read, the vowels being generally omitted in writing and printing, while no marks of punctuation are observed. The characters are written from the right to the left in a diagonal direction, which becomes more oblique towards the close. But various styles of handwriting are in use, each applied to a particular purpose, as sacred literature, official documents, and ordinary correspondence. In writing, the Turk sits cross-legged, employs the left knee for a desk, and has a reed for a pen, cut into the shape of one, but without any slit. Instead of moving the hand, he moves the paper in the process.

"The national dress of the people is loose and flowing, suited to the numerous ablutions enjoined by their religion. That of the females differs but little from that of the males, with the exception of the turban and the *yashmak*, or white veil, which all the women wear when they appear in the streets. But in Europe, the turban has been largely discarded for the round fez cap, and flowing robes for white pantaloons. It is in Asia, chiefly, that the Turks look like themselves, having preserved unchanged the costume of their ancestors; while Europeanized Constantinople, tight-fitting clothes, patent-leather boots, and cravats encase the limbs of the Moslem. They are admirable horsemen, and throw the djerid, or lance, with great dexterity and force; but, except this exercise, they abjure active effort, and are never so happy as when seated on the divan, or reclining on soft verdure, under the shade of trees, lulled by the trickling of a fountain, or the murmur of a rivulet."

Education is yet in a very primeval condition among the Turks. Every child, of both sexes, is sent to school long enough to commit to memory a portion of the Koran and certain forms of prayer which their law requires them to repeat five times a day. The schools for this purpose are now called *Sibiân*. Education in them is gratuitous and compulsory for certain ages. In 1864, there were over 15,000 of these schools, giving instruction to 660,000 children—about five-sixths of them Mussulman children.

There is reason to believe that, out of Constantinople, the number of these schools has diminished, though in that city it has increased.

A second class of primary schools is the *Ruchdiyèh*, also gratuitous, but not compulsory. These answer in theory to our intermediate or best district schools, but the teaching is very indifferent. There are about 20,000 children in these schools.

Secondary education is provided for in the *Idâdiyèh*, or preparatory schools, and the *Sultaniyèh*, or Lyceums; but these exist only on paper. There is one school of the first kind which had 59 scholars in 1875, and an Imperial Lyceum which had 428 students the same year.

The Imperial University exists only on paper. There are a number of special schools, military, naval, and medical, and an American Protestant College at Constantinople.

CHAPTER VII.

ROUMANIA AND SERVIA.

"THE Principalities of the Danube," as these small states are called, include the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, now combined under a single prince, as Roumania, and the Sclavonic principality of Servia.

MOLDAVIA has its southern and south-eastern boundary along the Danube and its delta; on the east and northeast, it joins the Russian province or government of Bessarabia, the river Pruth forming its north-eastern and northern boundary above the 47th degree of north latitude; its western limit is the Carpathian mountains, and on the southwest it joins Wallachia. Its area is 18,142 square miles, and its population is not far from 1,500,000 souls.

WALLACHIA lies south-westward from Moldavia, and stretches west about 269 miles, its southern boundary being washed by the Danube for nearly the whole distance; at the north it is bounded by Moldavia and the Eastern Carpathians which separate it from Transylvania. The Danube on the west divides it from Servia. The area of Wallachia is 27,500 square miles, and its population does not exceed 3,000,000. The Moldo-Wallachian, or as it is more appropriately called Roumanian principality, includes a territory of 45,642 square miles,

about the extent of Pennsylvania, and has a population of not more than 4,500,000 inhabitants.

Servia, the second of these practically independent principalities, lies wholly south of the Danube, which forms its northern boundary, and extends from the Timok river, a branch of the Danube, on the east, to the Save and its principal affluent, the Drina, on the west; while the Turkish provinces of Bosnia, Rumelia, and Bulgaria join it on the west, south, and southeast. The area of Servia is 16,600 square miles, and its population in 1875 was 1,352,522.

We propose to consider first,

ROUMANIA.

Moldavia and Wallachia have a common origin, and the physical features of the two principalities are very similar—both belong to the elevated prairie or steppe formation, which rises in wide plateaux, from the banks of the Danube, toward the foot-hills of the Carpathians. The soil is wonderfully fertile, and were it better and more thoroughly cultivated, no region of the earth would yield more bountiful returns to the husbandman. Of the two, Moldavia is the least hilly; neither of the principalities are mountainous. Moldavia is almost wholly a broad, rich plain, through the center of which flows the beautiful Sereth river, and on the east, many tributaries of the Pruth furnish an abundance of water. The soil is so rich that even the most trifling care is rewarded by a bountiful harvest. In the northwest of the principality there is much varied and picturesque scenery. The gardens, orchards, and vineyards yield fruits, flowers, and vegetables of the choicest quality in great abundance. The valleys are covered with waving grain, millet, wheat, barley and oats; and the steep slopes of the valleys are

covered with luxuriant vineyards. The wines of Moldavia if properly made would, it is said, fully equal those of Tokay.

Wallachia descends gradually, but from a higher level than Moldavia, from the lower slopes of the Carpathians toward the Danube. Its higher lands furnish abundant pasturage, redolent of aromatic herbs, for great numbers of flocks of sheep, and probably in consequence of this rich and luscious vegetation, the Wallachian sheep has the reputation of being the best food-producing animal of the East. Nearer the Danube, an extensive tract furnishes abundant pasturage for many thousands of cattle. Swine and goats are also reared in great numbers.

Roumania abounds in animals of the chase, as well as in the smaller quadrupeds, and its game includes all the mammals, occurring in other European regions of similar climate, with the possible exception of the ibex and beaver. Game birds are very plentiful in its extensive forests, especially the cock of the woods, the wild turkey, and, less frequently, the ibis and the pelican. The rivers and lakes abound in fish of all the European species, but the fisheries are not so profitable as they should be.

The climate varies according to the elevation and position. In the lowlands along the Danube, the temperature sometimes rises to 101° Fahrenheit in summer, and, in the more elevated localities, the mercury sinks to −11° in winter.

The Carpathians, and even the foot-hills which form their approaches, are known to contain the precious metals and other valuable minerals, but owing to the frequent occupation of the country by foreign armies, neither these, nor other sources of wealth have been developed, to any considerable extent.

Fruits, and especially the apple, the peach, the grape, the lime, the olive, and the pomegranate abound on the lower lands. Flax, tobacco and hemp, are, after the cereals, its most valued crops. One of the chief industries is the rearing of bees, and the honey of Roumania, owing to the abundance of lime-trees, with their fragrant blossoms, is of as high repute as that of Hymettus in the olden time.

The inhabitants of Roumania commingle in their veins the blood of a half-dozen different races. Dacian and Sarmatian, Teuton, Roman and Greek, Magyar, Turk and Tartar, have all united in greater or less numbers to form the race now known as Vlachs (from *vlach* a shepherd), Wallachians, or more lately, Roumanians. The old Dacian element is the primitive one, and they were pure Dacians, a sturdy and warlike race, when, in the second century of the Christian Era, the Roman Emperor Trajan attempted, and after a long and stubborn resistance, succeeded in effecting their subjugation to the Roman sway. Decebalus, their last native king, was no mythical hero, but a brave and patriotic chieftain, who long held the Roman armies, though greatly outnumbering his, at bay.

But the Roman conquests were, in general, beneficent to the conquered people; they established their civilization wherever they went, built highways, bridges, cities, aqueducts, and magnificent palaces, drained the swamps, promoted education, cultivated the æsthetic tastes of the people by works of art, and founded great and prosperous colonies. Wallachia and Moldavia were no exceptions to their usual management of conquered provinces, and they throve under it, till the Roman historians pronounced this Dacian colony the most flourishing and valuable in the empire. Large numbers of Roman

WALLACHIAN.

soldiers made their homes in the colony, and intermarried with the Dacians, until, though the stalwart Dacian *physique* did not disappear, the language became more and more like the Latin. Later, its prosperity was somewhat injured by its location, for hither came Goth and Hun, Scythian and Sarmatian, Tartar and Turkoman, each seeking to reach the Roman capital, now tottering to its downfall; and at this point, they were checked by Roman soldiers, till the whole of Roumania was one battle-field. When Rome had ceased to be the dominant power, at least in Eastern Europe, Roumania had a period of greater prosperity, and its native princes not only held their own territory, but extended their sway northward and eastward over Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia.

But after a considerable period of prosperity and independence, the Magyar princes of Hungary began to look with greedy eyes upon their fertile lands, and after many battles, their fierce cavalry subdued and held Roumania, and during the next century or more, added a considerable Magyar element to its population. The brave native chieftain, Wallah, led his countrymen in a successful effort to throw off the Magyar yoke. Early in the fourteenth century, and for nearly half a century, they were again an independent people; but, in 1389, the Sultan Bajazet I. ascended the throne, and having subjugated Servia and Bulgaria, crossed the Danube in 1391, and commenced a long and sanguinary war with them. This war continued with varying success, but without their complete subjugation down to the time of Soliman the Magnificent (1520 to 1566), when they at last submitted to become tributaries of the Ottoman power, retaining the right to elect their own sovereigns and to enact their own local laws; though they had in 1460 en-

tered into an agreement with the Sultan, Mohammed II., to pay him an annual tribute of 10,000 piasters ($416) on certain conditions—these conditions being also exacted in a subsequent treaty with Moldavia, in 1536. The following was the text of these treaties:

"1st. The Sultan engages for himself and his successors, to give protection to Wallachia (and the same pledge was made to Moldavia), and to defend it against all enemies, assuming nothing more than a supremacy over the sovereignty of that Principality, the Woiwodes (Princes) of which shall be bound to pay to the Sublime Porte an annual tribute of 10,000 piasters.

"2d. The Sublime Porte shall never interfere in the local administration of the said Principality, nor shall any Turk be ever permitted to come into Wallachia, without an ostensible reason.

"3d. Every year an officer of the Porte, shall come to Wallachia, to receive the tribute, and on his return shall be accompanied by an officer of the Woiwode as far as Giurgevo on the Danube, where the money shall be counted over again, a second receipt given for it, and when it has been carried in safety to the other side of that river, Wallachia shall no longer be responsible for any accident that may befall it.

"4th. The Woiwodes shall continue to be elected by the Archbishop, Metropolitan, bishops and boyards, and the election shall be acknowledged by the Porte.

"5th. The Wallachian nation shall continue to enjoy the free exercise of their own laws; and the Woiwodes shall have the right of life and death over their own subjects, as well as that of making war and peace, without having to account for any such proceedings to the Sublime Porte.

"6th. All Christians, who having once embraced the

Mahometan faith, shall come into Wallachia, and resume the Christian religion, shall not be claimed by any Ottoman authorities.

"7th. Wallachian subjects, who may have occasion to go into any part of the Ottoman dominions, shall not be there called upon for the haratsh, or capitation tax paid by other rayahs.

"8th. If any Turk have a lawsuit in Wallachia with a subject of the country, his case shall be heard and decided by the Wallachian Divan, conformably to the local laws.

"9th. All Turkish merchants coming to buy and sell goods in the Principality shall, on their arrival, give notice to the local authorities of the time necessary for their stay, and shall depart when that time is expired.

"10. No Turk is authorized to take away one or more servants of either sex, natives of Wallachia; and no Turkish mosque shall ever exist on any part of the Wallachian territory.

"11. The Sublime Porte promises, never to grant a firman, at the request of a Wallachian subject, for his affairs in Wallachia, of whatever nature they may be, and never to assume the right of calling to Constantinople or to any other part of the Ottoman dominions, a Wallachian subject, on any pretense whatever."

So long as these principles were maintained the Moldo-Wallachian provinces enjoyed a period of peace and comparative prosperity. At times, the surges of war between Russia and Turkey, would bring one or the other of the hostile armies, or both, into their territory; but these occasions were for the next hundred years and more comparatively infrequent. Meantime, the Woiwodes or Princes, elected from among the native nobles or boyards, were not always very true to Turkey, and

more than once, they were suspected of being influenced by Russian gold or Russian intrigues. These charges were doubtless sometimes made by their enemies, to procure their deposition, though in some instances, there is reason to believe they were true. In 1710, the Russians (under Peter the Great), entered into correspondence with the Moldo-Wallachian Princes, and, in 1711, entered their territory with a large army, which was opposed by a Turkish force of 220,000 men, and defeated with great slaughter. At this time, the Sultans assumed the right of appointing the Woiwodes for both principalities, and sent to Wallachia, Stephen Cantacuzene, a descendant of the Greek Emperors, and to Moldavia, a Greek named Nicolas Mavrocordato. From this time (1711–12 to 1829) the Ottoman Sultans claimed and exercised the right of appointing the governing princes of these principalities, to whom they gave the title of Hospodars. They selected them for many years from the Fanariot Greeks of Constantinople, and, after a time offered the position to the highest bidder. Under these circumstances, the condition of the people was very distressing. Whenever war occurred between Russia and Turkey, (and there were six such wars in the eighteenth century) these Principalities were sure to be the battle-ground, and the houses, cattle, and crops of the husbandmen were seized and used, without any possibility of redress. When there was no war, the greedy and unprincipled adventurers, who had bought the Hospodariate from the Sultan, were exerting all their ingenuity to plunder and oppress the people, to win back, with interest, the sums they had paid the Sultan for their offices. Russia had interfered repeatedly to prevent this great wrong to these people, who were becoming completely discouraged by the constant pillaging of their property; but previous

to 1829, its interference had proved generally unavailing. At the close of the war between Russia and Turkey in 1829, M. de Kisselief, the Russian Plenipotentiary for the Principalities, drew up, at the direction of the Emperor Nicholas, a form of government for the Principalities, known as the "Organic Regulations." This restored to the people the privilege of electing, from their own nobility, their Hospodars, but made this election subject to the joint approval of the Sultan and the Czar, and a veto from either was sufficient to annul the election.

It was soon found that this method was objectionable. The two protecting powers could not agree; and subsequently, a native Senate was, by the influence of the Emperor, chosen, which elected the Hospodar; and a responsible ministry, quarantine, the organization of an army after the pattern of other European powers, the erection of civil and criminal courts of justice, freedom of commerce and of conscience, were guaranteed to them. They were required to pay a moderate tribute to the Sublime Porte, but Russian influence was predominant.

Under this arrangement the principalities prospered till 1848, when in the great uprising of that year, the Princes fled, and by a conference between Russia and Turkey, Hospodars were chosen by those two powers, for seven years, without election by the people. The Crimean war produced another change. After that war the influence of Russia was no longer paramount in the principalities, but though the Czar was defeated, the allied powers could not leave them to the tender mercies of the Porte, and they would not suffer them to be subject to Russia. They were accordingly made independent principalities, but subject to a nominal suzerainty of Turkey, who was to recognize the rulers they might elect, and to whom they were to pay a tribute as a recog-

nition of its protection, of $100,000. In 1861, the two principalities were united under the name of Roumania, a firman of the Sultan approving the union. Their first Hospodar was Col. Alexander John Couza, a native Wallachian, but a man of violent and arbitrary temper, whose vices precipitated a revolution, in which he was deposed, and compelled to fly for his life. The Legislature of Roumania, at the recommendation of Russia and Prussia, elected as his successor, in May, 1866, Prince Charles, of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, a kinsman of the reigning house of Prussia and Germany, who, in July of the same year, was recognized by Turkey and took the title of Domnu or Prince, a Roumanian corruption of the Latin *Dominus*. Of his administration we have elsewhere given an account. (See CHARLES I. Domnu of Roumania, in Part II.)

The Constitution now in force in Roumania was adopted by a constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage in the summer of 1866. It vests the legislative power in a parliament of two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Senate consists of seventy-six members, and the other House of one hundred and fifty-seven deputies, of whom eighty-two are for Wallachia, and seventy-five for Moldavia. The members of both houses are chosen by indirect election, the first voters nominating electors, and these in their turn the deputies. Voters are all citizens aged twenty-five years or over, who can read and write, and all Roumanians of thirty years old or over, who possess a small yearly income, are eligible as deputies. The Domnu has a suspensive veto over all laws, passed by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The executive authority is in the hands of the reigning Prince or Domnu, assisted by a council of five ministers, heads of the Departments of

the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, of War, of Finance, and of Justice. Wallachia is divided into eighteen, and Moldavia into thirteen districts, each of which has a prefect or governor, a receiver-general of taxes, and a civil tribunal, consisting of a president and two other judges. Moldavia has a director of police and a town council in each municipality. Judges are removable at the pleasure of the superior authorities. The legal codes are founded upon the civil law and the customs of the principalities; but though the system of jurisprudence has been much amended, many reforms remain to be effected, especially in the administration of the laws, which is very corrupt.

The established religion of Roumania is that of the Greek or Eastern rite, though they are virtually independent either of the Orthodox Greek Church of Russia, of which the Czar is the head, the Bulgarian Greek Church, which has an Exarch at Philippopolis, or the Greek Church proper, which has its Patriarch at Constantinople. The Roumanian Greek Church has its own Metropolitan, who resides at Bucharest—its own Archi-mandrites, bishops and priests. The curates of the churches, especially in the country villages, are elected from among the people, from whom they differ little, either in appearance or intelligence, and after performing their clerical duties on Sunday, they return to their several secular avocations, of farmers, shepherds, tradesmen, woodcutters, etc. About seven-eighths of the people are reckoned as adherents of the Greek Church. There are a very few Catholics and still fewer Protestants; about 220,000 Jews and over 200,000 Gypsies. Roumania has always been a favorite dwelling-place for the latter race; they were attracted to it, apparently, by the shifting and varied character of its population, and until within a few years past, many

of them were serfs of the wealthier boyards or land-holders. Their language has many Roumanian words, and they seem there to partake in a larger degree than anywhere else of the gay and *insouciant* character of the people. The Gypsies of Roumania have the reputation of being honest and kindly in their ways, a reputation which has not adhered to them in other lands. The Jews are very numerous, and wearing a peculiar costume, with high fur caps, and long pelisses, are very easily distinguished from the Roumanians. They are the bankers and financiers of the principalities, and though much disliked by the natives, have succeeded in obtaining a very prominent and influential position.

The author of "Frontier Lands," states that at Bucharest, the Jews wear a flowing Oriental costume. "Their unmarried women have their heads uncovered, but wives and widows wear a handkerchief, generally of a bright yellow color, over their jet black hair, or a cap edged with fur. They are seldom handsome; and the prominent eye, the eagle nose, and heavy lips, are as remarkable in the streets of Bucharest, on a Saturday morning, as they are on the walls of the tomb at Thebes, where the Israelites are represented making bricks under the lash of their task-masters."

But to return to the Roumanian Greek Church. Its higher prelates and priests are endowed with generous incomes, and live in state. The Church also possesses large and rich domains in both principalities. In Bucharest alone (with a population of 221,000), there are more than one hundred edifices of the Greek faith. In the country every village has its chapel or sanctuary, a long, low edifice, but with a tall and slender spire. The Roumanian priests are generally ignorant and conservative, often of intemperate habits, and perform their cleri-

Jewess. Roman Catholic. Pravoslaves, or "Servians" Mahometan Sclaves. Turkish Priest.

BOSNIAN TYPES AT SERAJEVO.

cal duties in a perfunctory way, which makes their services very uninteresting. The people are very superstitious, and adhere strongly to old traditions. The most hardened and abandoned sinners find no difficulty in procuring absolution for any crime, if they have only sufficient money to pay the fees. Miracles are reputed to have been performed in almost every village, and every image of a saint in plaster-of-Paris has a reputed power of healing, or conveying some miraculous property to its worshipers. Holy water possesses wonderful virtues; it protects him who carries it about with him from the effects of witchcraft, from poison, from disease, and from the evil eye; it will avert lightning from cattle, blight from the forests, fire from dwellings, and the perils of the deep from ships. The church grants divorces on easy terms, and takes this duty from the hands of the secular power. The Black Clergy, as they are called in Russia—the monastic orders—have numerous monasteries in the Principalities, and have managed to retain their wealth amid all vicissitudes and changes.

Mr. George M. Towle, an American traveler, who visited the Principalities not long since, has given his impressions of the Roumanian cities and people, in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (subsequently expanded into a little volume on "The Principalities of the Danube)." After speaking of the salubrity of the climate, and of the comparative freedom of the political organization of Roumania, he continues: "With all their advantages, however, their political liberty, and the unsurpassed bounties with which nature has endowed them, the Moldo-Wallachians have long suffered under the blight of conflict, and the rule of both foreign and domestic masters. The population of the principality has actually dwindled within the past quarter of a century. They

are neither very enterprising nor hardworking. A less warlike race than the Servians, they are also less inclined than the Servians to adopt improvements, or accept the later conditions of material civilization. That this is the case, is due in the main, no doubt, to the fact that their territory has been for so many centuries the battle-ground between the Cossack and the Moslem.

"As a race, they have been in the habit of seeing their half-grown fields devastated, their half-built villages burned. Thus they fell into the way of sowing but little, and that hastily, and of building the cheapest and least ornamental dwellings that they could contrive.

"The beneficial results of Prince Karl's reign, however, may be seen by a brief comparison between Roumania, as it was when Prince Alexander John abdicated eleven years ago, and Roumania as it is to-day. In 1866, the people were all but savages, of a mild and primitive type, neither knowing nor caring how they were ruled; living on wretched food, cooked in the most uncouth way, and eaten with the worst of manners; dominated and oppressed by an aristocracy of indolent, ignorant, and dissolute lords or boyards, who were also dishonest, unenterprising, and apparently devoid of the least sentiment of love of country. English, French, and German capitalists having, with unfortunate experience, tried to develop the undoubtedly rich natural resources of the principality, and having given up the attempt in despair, foreign capital was shy of Roumanian risks, and kept clear of the country.

"The Moldo-Wallachians, indeed, had at the time of Prince Alexander John's fall, reached a degree of physical deterioration and of moral callousness, from which it seemed that they could never be rid. They were taxed to death, while their wages were reduced to a

starvation point. They had almost no internal means of carrying hither and thither, the food products in which their soil is so fruitful. They were cheated by the boyards, fleeced by the priests, squeezed dry by the Jews, and their lot looked absolutely hopeless. The only salvation which seemed possible was the pitiful one of annexation to Austria; that is, extinction in a great but neither united nor prosperous empire, ruled over by a proud imperial house, strange to their race and religion. 'They wanted,' says an intelligent observer of them as they then were, 'nearly every thing. There were a few large fortunes amongst the boyards, but very little education, and less probity. Official corruption was a prevalent malady. Social immorality had attained its apogee, not only amongst the higher classes, but throughout all strata of the social formation. Divorce was as common as the open disregard of the marriage tie. Nine-tenths of the population did not know how to read and write.'

"This decrepitude seemed to reach through every public and private class. The army was wretchedly officered; and the boyards, deriving their revenues from the oppression of the people, spent them outside of the country, in Paris and Vienna, in Baden and at Rome. One who had studied Roumania then would scarcely recognize it now. The country has been opened up to industry and trading enterprise, by roads of all kinds; many reforms have been carried out in regard to the relations between the peasants and the squires; and on every hand the signs of a new life have already appeared, and give greater promise every day.

"In 1869, the first railway in Roumania, a line forty-two miles long, was opened between Bucharest, the capital, and Giurgevo on the Danube; Giurgevo being opposite

Rustchuk, on the Turkish bank of the river, from whence there is railway communication to Varna, on the coast of the Black Sea. Since the building of this railway, others have been rapidly constructed. A network has been completed connecting Bucharest with Western Europe, *via* Ploiesti, Buzeo, Ibraila, Tekutel, Roman, and Sucæva, to Lemberg in Austria; and within the past year a railway line has been opened in Moldavia, between the frontier town of Ungheni on the Pruth, and Jassy, the ancient capital of Moldavia, which was finished just in time to enable the Russians to use it, when on the 24th of April, 1877, war was declared, and the forces of the Czar began their advance to the Danube. The Roumanian railways are all owned by the government.

"The Moldo-Wallachian villages present an unfavorable contrast to those of Servia. A traveler who traversed the principality not long ago, describes it as consisting of 'huts half buried in the earth,' betraying a miserable condition of the people. They are, indeed, almost a subterranean community. In some districts "the subterranean villages have been so effectually concealed, with grass growing on the top, that were it not for the tell-tale smoke we see making its way upward from the earth, like a spent volcano, we might ride over them without suspecting that several human families were living beneath.'

"Each village has its common granary—a curious edifice about six feet high and several hundred feet long; it is made of open trellis-work, so that the grain may be properly dried. This is always the most conspicuous object which catches the traveler's eye.

"The Moldo-Wallachian cities and towns, if we except Bucharest, Jassy, and one or two others, are scarcely

more prepossessing than are the villages. The streets are seldom paved. The inns are execrable, and quite as uncomfortable as those of the Turkish towns beyond the Danube. The beds at these houses of entertainment consist of 'a board elevated a few feet from the ground, furnished with a round piece of wood, or a bag stuffed with hay, as a pillow.' The food, too, is unpalatable to him who has been accustomed to the epicurean luxuries of the Western capitals. The principal dish offered at the inns is a porridge made of corn-flour, called 'mamalinga.' The walls of the rooms are mostly bare of ornament, except that one may always be certain of being able to pay his devotions to a picture or plaster statuette of the Virgin.

"The two ancient capitals of the principalities, Bucharest and Jassy, have some pretensions to elegance and life, and are, at least, interesting in their quaint, antique architecture. Bucharest, situated in a picturesque plain in Central Wallachia, forty miles north of the Danube, on a vast plain, which spreads out southward of the Carpathian range from Turnu-Severin to the Sereth, and comprising over two hundred thousand souls, is notable for its convents, its many Greek churches, its pleasant gardens and groves. Near by runs the charming river Dimbowitza, of which an old Wallachian song says, 'Sweet water! he who drinks once of thy crystal stream shall never leave thy banks.'

"'The plain between the Danube and Bucharest,' says a recent writer, 'rises to a considerable height above the noble river, and on reaching the capital, suddenly sinks, forming the hollow in which Bucharest is placed, and through which the stream of the Dimbowitza flows. Seen from a distance, Bucharest appears a handsome city; its numerous domes, spires, and turrets are covered

with tin, and sparkle in the sun with an almost dazzling brightness. It covers ground to the extent of twenty English square miles, about a third of which is taken up by trees and gardens. A public promenade outside the town, about a mile and a half in length, and bordered with trees, is covered every afternoon by the equipages of the boyards, and foreign agents. The view of the city from the hill on which the metropolitan church is placed is very fine. The Podo Mogochoi, the principal street, is well paved and well watered, and contains the chief shops, and hotels, and many of the best private houses, besides the prince's residence, and the national theatre. Curious wooden bridges are thrown across the Dimbowitza, and connect portions of the town. The palace is not an elegant or enviable structure, but the reigning prince has done much to render it comfortable.'

"The houses in Bucharest are mainly of two stories, built of clay and wood, with bay-windows jutting from the upper stories. Only the principal streets are paved; the rest are long, narrow, and irregular, and, withal, wretchedly lighted. Quite elegant mansions stand cheek by jowl with miserable hovels; there is no fashionable quarter, no distinctively paupers' quarters: rich and poor live side by side. Bucharest is, in these respects, more Oriental than European in character.

"It is a peculiar place for several reasons. There are so many dogs in the Roumanian capital as to be a downright plague; and more than once it has been found necessary to inaugurate a general massacre of them. The dogs thus killed are given over to be skinned by the peasantry outside the town. A permanent fashion in Bucharest is that of using vehicles. Nobody will go from place to place on foot, if he or she can help it.

"M. de Girardin says, in a letter from there, 'To go on

foot in Bucharest is like going through a French town with bare feet.' A traveler gives an amusing description of one of these turn-outs: 'From a house in which a decent English workman would be ashamed to live, so dirty and dilapidated is it, you see the "noble" proprietor driving out in his own carriage, a half-naked Sclave, with a few rags hanging loosely about him, acting as coachman; the great man himself enjoying his easy dignity within, not in the cleanest habiliments, with all the comfort the execrable road and the wretched springs, or want of springs, in his carriage, will admit of.'

"The following is a concise description of the motley character of the denizens of Roumania's capital: 'It is a strangely varied mass of human beings. First in rank are the great boyards, or aristocrats, who, though they have lost their distinctive privileges, keep up as before their haughty exclusiveness. In the second rank come the military, judicial, and civil anthorities, and members of the learned professions, who, with the smaller proprietors, form a separate category. Next, those engaged in commercial pursuits, chiefly foreigners,—Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Frenchmen, and Swiss,—who, again, keep very separate from each other. Down in the scale are the artisans of the better class, chiefly Germans, Transylvanians, and some Frenchmen. Those of inferior calling, are Roumanians and Jews. The laboring population is Roumanian, Transylvanian, Bulgarian, and gypsy; while the owners and drivers of public vehicles are mainly Russians, and may easily be distinguished by their voices and appearance. Very recently the gypsies have been released from the state of serfdom, in which they were held by the great boyards.'

"Jassy, which was the capital of Moldavia when the Principalities were separate, stands picturesquely on the

bank of a small branch of the Pruth, and is in the northernmost corner of Prince Karl's dominions. It is in the midst of a smiling and fruitful country; and undulating hills, vine-clad, almost entirely surround it. In some respects it is a more attractive, though a smaller city, than Bucharest: its population is about ninety thousand. Its principal street is a very spacious and handsome one, the shops being as large and brilliant as those of the Rue de Rivoli in Paris, or Regent street, in London. The railway between Jassy and Ungheni has done much to lend new life and growth to the former.

"A superficial observation of the Moldo-Wallachians in the towns gives rise to the inference that theirs is mainly an Oriental type of civilization. A brief acquaintance with the society of Bucharest, reveals that there is a universal craving to imitate the French.

"The French language is generally used in 'the best circles;' no one is worthy of social consideration, who is not familiar with it. The young ladies sing French songs; and not only they, but the lower classes, are extravagantly fond of the French opera. French fashions are followed almost slavishly.

"The people of Moldo-Wallachia, though unhappily given over to what seems inveterate sloth, and an inordinate love of frivolous pleasures, are still a tall, strong, and comely race, 'with oblong countenance, black hair, thick and well-arched brows, a lively eye, small lips, and white teeth.' The Wallachians are more vivacious and pleasure-loving than their Moldavian compatriots; amidst their indolence and ignorance, however, both peoples are sober, frugal, and courageous on occasion. It has been remarked that while the Moldo-Wallachians of the cities and towns betray a Greek type of physiog-

nomy, those of the rural districts retain marked Roman features.

"The upper classes are excessively and even ludicrously haughty. They keep themselves ostentatiously aloof from the rest of the community, and are not disposed to be hospitable to strangers. The nobility, divided into many grades, and numerous, were, under the old order of things, the controlling political element, and still retain no small portion of their formerly unquestioned authority. The 'boyards,' or old Dacian nobility, have become much degenerated by the fashionable and dissipated life of the city; but the remains of the old landed aristocracy, are still to be found in the rural districts. The country boyard is usually athletic and handsome, and, retaining as he does the ancient national costume, is a very picturesque personage. He wears a black astrakhan cap, shaped like a turban, and a large mantle of fur or sheep skin, embroidered in gay colors. It is said, that the costumes of the upper Wallachian peasants with their sandals, cloaks, and tunics, are very similar to, those worn by the Roman peasantry in the days of the Empire.

"Roumania boasts of two universities, one at each of the capitals. That of Bucharest is for general higher education, and is similar to the German universities in organization and method of teaching. The university of Jassy, on the other hand, is especially devoted to instruction in the law, and in literature. There are also in the principality eight theological seminaries, in which Greek Church priests are bred, but the scholastic character and standard of which are by no means high. The number of common schools, in the cities and towns, is between two and three thousand, and in the country districts about two thousand, but the instruction imparted in them, is very meager."

SERVIA.

The Servians are the most purely Sclavonian race in Europe. They retain, in a remarkable degree, the physical characteristics, the customs, language, and manners of their Sarmatian ancestry. Not even the Israelite has been more insusceptible to all those influences, whether of climate, conquest, civilization, or contact in colonial relation with other races, which so powerfully affect most peoples, and which in their nearest neighbor, Roumania, has produced a new race by the combination of many nationalities. The Servians do not appear as a distinct branch of the Sclavonic race, until the beginning of the seventh century of our era, when at the invitation of the Greek Emperor, Heraclius, certain Sclavonic tribes occupying a region north of the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, known as White Serbia, migrated to the country south of the Danube, and settled upon the lands from which the Avars, a Tartar tribe, had been expelled. These Sclavonians, though coming from White Serbia, were not all then known as Serbs; those who migrated first were Croats, and they were followed by their kindred, the Serbians or Servians, but a century or two later. The inhabitants of Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Carinthia, Carniola and Montenegro, were all Servian, and these all spoke the old Sclavonian tongue with great purity.

"The story of Servia," says a recent traveler in the principality,* "consists of four parts, growth, glory, fall, and rising again. The four epochs of Servian history, have each its representative man. The first of these, is Stephen Némania, who in the middle of the twelfth century, welded several detached and vassal governments

* The Honorable Miss G. Muir Mackenzie.

St. Ivan. 2. Wallachian Woman from Sluin. Woman and Child from Draganic. Zagorja. Sizsek. Wallachian Man from Sluin. Man from near Agram. Little Girl from Doropolja.

CROATIAN TYPES.

into an independent monarchy. The second is Czar Stephen Dūshan, who, in the middle of the fourteenth century, raised the monarchy into an empire, and aimed to defend the whole peninsula against the attacks of Turkish Mussulmans, by uniting its peoples in one strong realm. The third epoch is marked by the fall of Czar Lazar, who, in 1389, lost the decisive battle of Kossovo; after which Servia became tributary to the Turks. The fourth epoch dates from the opening of the present century, and is identified with the name of Milosh Obrenovitch. An insurrection of Servian rayahs had ended in disaster, and its rough but heroic leader, Kara George (Black George), worn out and disheartened, fled into Austria. Then Milosh took up the lost game, tore a fragment of Servian land on the south bank of the Danube from under the dominion of the Turk, and made that fragment the germ of an European state. But it may be well, to go a little more particularly, into this history of one of the most interesting peoples in Eastern Europe. When the Servians crossed the Danube on the invitation of the Greek Emperor, they were not a wild, nomadic horde, but more thoroughly organized, and under better discipline and government than any of the adjacent nations. They had the patriarchal system of "mirs" or communes, which we have already described in Russia, but they were much better arranged than the Russian mir. "Zupa," their word for commune, means literally, "the sunny land," and was a characteristic description of the beautiful sunlit valleys and plains, surrounded by amphitheatres of hills, which form the general geographical configuration of the region peopled by Servians. The Zupan was the patriarch of the commune, or village; a group of villages, perhaps in a single valley, was a Zupania; and the leader and judge for this group of

villages, was also recognized as the Zupan. These groups of villages in their respective valleys were united under one leader, who, selected for his prowess, his knowledge, or his influence over men, was called the Grand Zupan (Veliki Zupan), or later, Knez (Count), and in process of time, as one Grand Zupan distinguished himself above his fellows, he came to receive the title and rank of Czar. This gradual development of a nation, from small individual communities is a slow one; and so it happened that from the seventh century to the twelfth, individual Zupans ruled over small groups of communes, and the whole, leading an innocent and quiet life, knew little and cared less for the wars and tumults of the world without. It was only the strong hand of oppression, at first from the Byzantine emperors, that united these groups of Zupas under a single ruler. The first to gather these scattered fragments of communities in one, and to aspire to the position of King of Servia, was Némania, the father of Stephen Némania; but though he drove the Byzantine troops out of Servia, and seized and held the Byzantine fortresses, and offered to do homage to the western Roman emperor, Frederic, for recognition as King of the Serbs, he did not obtain his desire, and died as he had lived, simply Grand Zupan. But his son Stephen Némania, who succeeded his father in 1159, was crowned king, and married the daughter of the Ban or Prince of Bosnia. He ruled with great ability, founded a dynasty, established the Eastern or Greek Church in Servia, and enlarged the boundaries of his realm. His son, also Stephen, crowned in 1195, was a wise and able ruler, who married for his first queen, the daughter of the Greek emperor, and for a second, the granddaughter of Andrea Dandolo, Doge of Venice. The Némanian dynasty continued for two hundred years, and it

was the golden age of Servia. Her kings were allied by marriage with the imperial and princely families of Constantinople, Hungary, Nicæa, Bulgaria, France, Venice, and Transylvania; and commerce, art and literature flourished.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, her kings took the title of Czar, which their extended realm justified; but it was the laudable ambition of one of these Czars, Stephen Dūshan, surnamed Silni, or the Mighty Souled Stephen, to expand still more widely, their growing power. He was a giant in stature, and his portrait gives the impression of a grand and comprehensive intellect. Soon after he came to the throne, the evidence of the rapid decay of the Greek Empire became overwhelming, and while the weak and effeminate princes of the empire were squabbling and contending for the succession, the Ottoman power was daily drawing its lines closer around the doomed city, and there seemed to be no helper. Stephen Dūshan comprehended all this, and he knew also that there was no hope that any of the descendants of John Palæologus would ever be able to maintain themselves against the bold and energetic Ottoman Sultans. It was a choice between the Ottoman, and some Christian power, which had the will and the force to put an end to Moslem aggression. He believed himself the best qualified of any of the Christian princes for that work. He already reckoned among his vassals, all of the states of European Turkey which had not submitted to the Turk, and others would be rejoiced to hail him as a deliverer. He therefore gathered a large army, and proclaiming himself Czar of the Serbs and the Greeks (several of the Greek provinces acknowledging him as their Sovereign), he marched toward Constantinople, avowing his purpose to be a candidate, powerfully supported, for the crown of the Eastern Empire. On

the news of his approach, the weak Greek Emperor called on the Turk to aid him, and made a treaty with him. Not daunted, however, Stephen Dūshan went forward, and had reached the village of Devoli, about thirty-six miles from Constantinople, in 1355, when he was attacked with fever, and died after a brief illness.

It is said that his secretary, Marko, who attended him faithfully, observed him weeping just before his death, and said to him, "Wherefore weepest thou, O Czar?" The Czar answered, "Therefore weep I; not because I am about to leave the countries, where I have made good roads, and builded good bridges, and appointed good governors; but because I must leave them, without taking the City of Empire, and I see the gate standing open, by which the enemy of the land will enter in." His prophecy was speedily fulfilled. In less than a hundred years, Constantinople became the Turkish capital.

The son of Dūshan, Urosh, was a mere boy, and of feeble constitution; the regent, Vukashine, was ambitious to become Czar, and eventually murdered the young Czar, and subsequently, in a battle with the Sultan, was himself slain, with the evidence of the murder of Urosh on his person. Lazar Greblianovitch, one of the youngest but the best of Dūshan's favorites, and allied by blood to the Némanian princes, was chosen by the nobles as Czar, but contented himself with the title of Knez, or Count. As soon as possible, he assembled an army, and marched on Adrianople, the Turkish capital, sending a challenge to the Sultan, Murad I., to meet him in battle. The fierce and destructive battle of Kossovo was fought in 1389, and both sovereigns, Lazar and Murad, were among its dead, the throne of each passing to his son. Stephen Lazarovitch, who succeeded his father, found Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, ready to make liberal offers

of peace, and accepted them. Bajazet soon after married Stephen's sister, and for a time there was peace and quietness, but when Constantinople had been captured, the turn of the Servians came; their country was overrun by the Turks, and they were driven in great numbers into Austria. For the next 400 years, Servia was almost constantly the battle-ground between the Turk and the Austrian, and the Servians had but brief and infrequent respites from the oppression of their Moslem conquerors. If, for a short time, they seemed to have escaped from their oppressors, through the intervention of the larger and more powerful states, they were sure, in some treaty of peace between Russia, or Austria, and Turkey, to be handed back, as a compensation for some other concession to these powers.

The last occasion of this sort, at the peace of Sistova, in 1791, proved too much for even their long-suffering and patience, and the old, proud spirit of resistance in the Servian race revived. The Turkish pashas plundered them without stint, and the Sultans, even if well-disposed, were unable to protect them. The people rose in insurrection in 1804, and found a rough but heroic leader in Kara (Black) George, an adventurer, and perhaps a brigand, but a man of gigantic stature and great personal courage. A struggle of eight years ensued, and although the principality had in some sort gained its independence, its condition was not satisfactory. Kara George ruled despotically, and after repelling the Turkish raids a number of times, he grew so careless that when a sudden attack was made in 1813, the Turks occupied Servia without a battle, and Kara George fled for his life to Russia.

But the people would not endure the Turkish yoke, and another leader was found, Milosh Obrenovitch, well-connected, yet himself a swine-herd, and the son of a swine-

herd. The Sultan finding himself powerless to keep the country in subjection, made terms with Milosh; and in 1829, he was recognized as Prince of Servia, and the virtual independence of the principality was acknowledged by an imperial firman. With the exception of an annual tribute to the Turkish treasury, and the nominal right of the Sultan to call upon Servia for a contingent of 12,050 men, in case of war, and to represent Servia at foreign courts by his envoys, the principality then became entirely free from the Sultan's control.

Milosh, although he had secured the practical liberty of his countrymen, did not long remain popular. He became arbitrary in his government, and relied too much on his deeds and his fame, to secure him an indemnity from liberal measures. In 1839, he was forced to abdicate the throne, and retire from public affairs altogether; and was succeeded by his son Milan, a feeble and sickly prince, who died soon after coming into the princedom. The next ruler of Servia was Prince Michael, who was, as little successful in pleasing his subjects as his father had been, and who, in 1842, found himself obliged to quit the principality.

It was now the turn of the son of the liberator Kara George, to try his hand at reigning. Alexander, the son of the bandit hero, was elected prince by the Skoupschina, or House of Representatives; and for some time he ruled in peace, and Servia made marked progress. For seventeen years, Alexander contented his restless subjects; then came a great popular agitation, which ended by driving him, too, from the throne. Old Milosh was summoned from his long retirement to resume the reins of power, but died in about a year, in 1860. Prince Michael was in his turn recalled, and for the second time was proclaimed prince.

"During his exile," says an historian, "Michael had traveled much in Europe, and become a thorough European. He possessed enlightened views as a ruler; and, bending his whole energies to give his country a new and really independent life, he organized the militia so that Servia could summon to her standard, in time of need, a force of one hundred thousand trained men. Roads also were formed, bridges built, schools established, and agriculture and commerce encouraged. The popularity of the prince was greatly increased in 1862, by his obtaining the removal of the Turkish garrisons from Belgrade and all other fortresses of Servia. The education of Prince Michael led him to introduce European refinement among his court and people. One of his tastes was for parks and gardens. The garden attached to his own residence was choice and elegant. He converted a picturesque district lying along the chain of hills to the west of Belgrade into a deer-park, named the Topshidere. When walking in the Topshidere one day, in June, 1868, Prince Michael was assassinated.

He was succeeded by a youth of fourteen, named Milan, grandson of Ephraem, a brother of old Milosh, and second cousin to the murdered prince; and this Milan is the present ruler of Servia. He was born at Jassy in 1854, and he is therefore twenty-three years of age. Of this Prince and his administration we have spoken in our biographical sketch of Milan Obrenovitch IV. He had been able, by great prudence and circumspection, to maintain peace until 1876, though the clamors of the people for war were repressed with great difficulty. After the outrages in Bulgaria, which followed great oppression, wrong and cruelty in Bosnia, the Herzegovina and Montenegro, states or provinces peopled by the same race and professing largely the same faith, it was

impossible longer to restrain the warlike ardor of the people. The war was disastrous in its effects upon the Servians, whether from a want of proper training, or from lack of skill in their leader, Gen. Tchernayeff, is uncertain. The nation is again eager for war, but has been restrained by Austria and Russia for the present.

By the Constitution of Servia the executive power is vested in the prince, assisted by a council of five ministers, who are responsible to the nation. The legislative authority is exercised by two independent bodies, the Senate and the Skoupschina or House of Representatives. The Senate consists of 17 members, nominated by the prince, one for each of the seventeen departments into which the country is divided. This body is always sitting. Formerly all vacancies in the Senate were filled up by the rest of the members, but for some time past the prince has exercised the power of appointing the Senators. The Skoupschina is composed of deputies chosen by the people, at the rate of one deputy to every 2,000 electors. The electors are the male citizens of the country above the age of twenty-one years, paying direct taxes. Domestic servants and gypsies (of whom there are about 25,000) are excluded from suffrage. Every elector is eligible to become a member of the Skoupschina, except the holders of government offices and the clergy. The Skoupschina assembles in annual session. On extraordinary occasions, such as the election of a new prince or the nomination of his successor, a Grand Skoupschina, four times as numerous as the ordinary assembly, may be summoned by the government.

Servia has not a large commerce, owing to the want of good roads and railroads. The Danube, owing to the rapids at the "Iron Gates," is navigated with difficulty at some seasons of the year. The trade of the princi-

pality is almost exclusively with Austria, Turkey, and Roumania. Her exports amount to about $5,500,000, and are chiefly live pigs, with some cattle. These are raised in countless herds, and fed on the acorns which abound in the forests. Her imports from Austria and Turkey amount to about $4,500,000. The great majority of the Servians are connected with the Greek Church. This Church is, however, a national one, not subject to any foreign Patriarch or Metropolitan, but electing its own Metropolitan and bishops. It was constituted an independent orthodox Greek Church by St. Sava, its first Metropolitan, the son of the Grand Zupan Nemania, in 1220, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The services are conducted in the Sclavonic tongue, but an effort has recently been made, notwithstanding strenuous opposition on the part of Russia, to obtain copies of the ancient Serbian manuscripts of the Scriptures and Ritual, now scattered in monasteries in Russia, Servia, and Austria, which are said to be much less corrupt than those now in use. The parish priests of the Servian Church must of necessity be married men; and as they are forbidden by the canons to marry a second time, a parish priest whose wife dies, must resign his parish and retire to a monastery. The Servian priests seldom preach, and an English traveler who recently visited forty of their sanctuaries, found only one with a pulpit.

Mr. Denton, an English writer, who visited Servia a few years since, in his work entitled "Servia and the Servians," thus describes the service in the Cathedral at Belgrade: The whole ceremonial, not only in its broader features, but down to its minuter details, appeared to me essentially Jewish. It was as though the unvarying East had retained so much of the services of the elder church

as could be made applicable to Christian worship, and had thus restored to them their full and spiritual meaning. This was so much the case, that as I stood in the cathedral at Belgrade, with the myriad lights blazing around, and listened to the full choirs chanting antiphonically, while the people answered in responsive chorus, using the self-same music which may still be heard in the Jewish synagogue; and whilst with the voices of the people, clouds of incense, symbolizing the prayers of the saints, rose within and without the doors of the sanctuary, with its veil of scarlet, covering the way to the holy of the holies,—I seemed to be standing within that older temple at Jerusalem, and listening to the music which, at least from the time of David, has been the sacred heritage of God's church. This illusion was completed, when I saw before me the tall forms of the priests, clothed in flowing Oriental garments, full bearded, and with heads as guiltless of the razor as the Nazarites of old."

In the same work we find the following graphic account of the administration of the holy sacrament, as it is imposingly performed in the Servian church: "The richly robed priest, with flowing beard, stood at the central or holy door of the iconostasis, the gates of which are at this time open, and the curtains withdrawn. In his left hand he bore the chalice, in his right the spoon; for with the spoon the sacrament is given, the contents of the disc or paten having, after consecration, been carefully swept into the chalice. At the presbyter's left hand stood the long-haired ascetic-looking deacon, also in beautiful array. About five feet westward of the priest and deacon, facing them, stood two officials of the church, to prevent the danger consequent upon the pressure of the crowd. In front of these two

CHURCH FESTIVAL OF FREE SERBIA.

men passed the communicants from south to north, as each in turn came up. These communicants were of both sexes and all ages. They stood before the chalice-bearing priest with reverent, upturned faces, and beneath the mouth of each the deacon held his houselling cloth of violet-colored silk, embroidered in the center with a cross of gold, whilst into it was placed the holy sacrament of love. After each had communicated, his lips were carefully wiped by the deacon."

Belgrade, the capital of Servia, is a fortress which has been renowned for its strength during the last five centuries. After long sieges, it has by turns fallen into the hands of Turk or Austrian, Servian, Pole or Hungarian, but its capture has always been the occasion of such rejoicing as has hardly welcomed the surrender of any other Oriental city.* The city has narrow streets, and the usual quantity of foul odors and dirt which prevail in all the walled cities of the East, but it has some fine buildings, and numerous white minarets. Its population in 1875 was 27,605.

Mr. Towle, in his valuable little work on the "Principalities of the Danube," has collected, from various quarters, pleasant descriptions of the scenery and people of Servia, a few of which we take the liberty of quoting:

"The character, habits, and customs of the Servians are not less peculiar and interesting than their history. The country, while not precisely what would be called

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* "In that day of desolation,
Lady, I was captive made;
Bleeding for my Christian nation,
By the walls of high Belgrade."
CAMPBELL—*The Turkish Lady.*

The termination *grad* or *grade* in Servia means a *fortress*, and Bol or Belgrade was, "the chief or great fortress."

mountainous, is picturesquely varied, and wild of aspect. It contains rather a series of isolated hills than continuous chains. These hills, rising from the fertile plains where the villages are scattered, are covered with dense forests of pine and oak, where the lynx, the bear, the chamois, and the wolf roam almost at will. On the lower slopes the forests are replaced by prolific vineyards, which are said to have been first planted in Servia in the time of the Roman Empire."

"The scenery of Servia," says a recent tourist, "is exceedingly beautiful, the mountains being for the most part covered with forests of oak and other trees. The valleys and rivers form an endless and agreeable diversity." The romantic beauty of the country is described by Mr. Paton, in his account of the highlands and woodlands of Servia, with enthusiastic admiration. He says: "Nothing like enclosures or fields, farms, laborers, gardens, or gardeners; and yet it is and looks like a garden in one place, a trim English lawn and park in another. You almost say to yourself, 'The man or house cannot be far off. What lovely and extensive grounds! Where can the hall or castle be hid?'" Mr. Paton also describes the noble view which he had from the summit of Mount Kopaunik, which stands in such a position that wide vistas stretch out before the eye from its top.

"A gentle wind," he says, "skimmed the white straggling clouds from the blue sky. Warmer and warmer grew the sunlit valleys; wider and wider grew the prospect as we ascended. Balkin after balkin rose on the distant horizon. When at length I stood on the highest peak, the prospect was literally gorgeous. Servia lay rolled out at my feet. There was the field of Kossovo, where Murad defeated Lazar, and entombed the ancient

empire of Servia.* I mused an instant on this great landmark of European history; and following the finger of an old peasant who accompanied us, I looked eastward, and saw Deligrad, the scene of one of the bloodiest fights that preceded the resurrection of Servia as a principality. The Morava glistened in its wide valley, like a silver thread in a carpet of green; beyond which the dark mountains of Rudnik rose to the north, while the frontiers of Bosnia, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria walled in the prospect. From the top of Kopaunik the view embraces memorials of the glory, fall, and rise of Servia: there may be at once seen the seat of the Servian Empire in old Servia, the field of its overthrow, and the scenes where freedom was again won by the sword of the Serbs."

Only from an eighth to a sixth of the soil of Servia is under cultivation. A very large portion is devoted to pasturage and the rearing of swine. In the charming valleys of the Save and the Morava, and their tributaries, wheat, millet, and maize are plentifully raised. This is due, however, rather to the fruitful nature of the soil than to the skill of the Servian cultivators.

The Servians are but indifferent farmers. The land is still tilled in a primitive fashion, improvements of modern invention finding no favor there. It is singular that, in a latitude so low, olives are unknown; the fig and the mulberry, on the other hand, are plentiful. The flora of

* Mr. Paton's imagination is slightly at variance with the historical verities. At the battle of Kossovo, both Murad and Lazar were slain, and though that battle ended the Servian Confederation, which had lasted but about forty years, yet it was so far from being regarded as a defeat by actors in it, that King Tvartko of Bosnia claimed it as a victory—and Bajazet I., son and successor of Murad, was ready to grant any terms to the son of Lazar, which might enable him to recruit the wasted strength of his army. Though Lazar was the last Czar of Servia, yet the kingdom was not subdued or invaded seriously by the Turks till 1459, seventy years after Kossovo.

Servia bears a striking resemblance to that of the British Isles. It is remarkable that in this almost tropical section of Europe are found wild strawberries, raspberries, and whortleberries, violets, daisies, and saffron, honeysuckle, clematis, and the white and black thorn. The cup of a certain acorn is gathered and used for tanning.

The wine of Servia is often excellent, especially that called "Turk's blood." There is a curious custom connected with this beverage. "Whenever a bottle of it is opened," says a recent traveler, "the first person who tastes it affects surprise, and asks, 'What is this?' A second, having likewise tasted it, replies solemnly, 'Turk's blood.' Whereupon the first rejoins, 'Then let it flow freely!'"

Servia holds no mean rank as a country of industrial resources. Its iron is pronounced the best in the world. In ancient times gold and silver mines were worked within its territory; and, indeed, they still exist, though they are no longer profitable. Coal, sulphur, and saltpetre, are among its most lucrative productions. Experiments are, even now, being made to ascertain whether the Servian soil is not favorable to hemp and tobacco.

It is an excellent indication of the present prosperity of the principality, that its exports considerably exceed its imports. An evidence of the primitive condition of Servia, may be found in the fact that a separation of employments scarcely exists there. The people are supplied by "jacks-at-all-trades." As in our own villages, the same shopkeeper supplies his customers with groceries and household ware, hats and farming implements —indeed, whatever they find serviceable in the house or on the farm.

In many respects the Servians are a people much to

be envied. Primitive in ideas and habits, patriarchal in their manner of life, intensely devoted to their country, and jealous of its institutions, their lot is, almost universally a comfortable, if not a prosperous one.

A strong and stalwart race, much above the average of Europeans and even of Sclaves in height and physical strength, they are contented with little, and existence runs smoothly with them. Pauperism is unknown among them. There is no country in the world where life and property are more secure. Foreign tourists find the roads as safe as the streets of a populous city. "The peasants of no part of Europe," says a tourist, "can compare with those of Servia for that truest of all courtesies which is based upon a spirit of independence, and springs from true gentleness of character. The salutations of the peasants to the traveler have no trace of servility. They are universal, but they are the natural homage which one freeman renders to another."

The Servians, well-to-do and humble, are noted for their free hospitality and welcome to all who come. In hut and country-house, the stranger is always sure of a social glass, a hearty meal, and a comfortable bedroom. The Servians are at once shrewd and imaginative, at once brave and industrious, sincere and simple in conduct as in faith.

A singular feature of the social state of the Servians is seen in the character of their villages. These are always stretched over a large tract, and do not nestle close, as do the villages in every other part of Europe. Hamlets comprising not more than forty or fifty cottages are spread over a space as large as that occupied by Vienna. The houses are built square, the walls being of clay, and the central apartment being covered with a thatching of hay. In the middle of this room are the hearth and fire.

Around it are the chambers, often decorated with polished panels.

It is in this curiously constructed homestead that the whole Servian family is collected after the patriarchal fashion, the old man and his good wife, the sons and daughters, and the grand-children. They work and take their meals in common, and in the evening gather in a group around the hearth. The houses, and even the furniture, are constructed by the owners themselves. These also make their own wagons and their own ploughs, carve the yokes of the oxen, shoe the horses, hoop the barrels, and make the shoes for the family. Meanwhile the women of the household weave and spin the clothing for themselves, their children, and the men.

Very few Servian women are there who cannot spin flax and wool, and weave and dye the heavier cloths.

When the patriarch of the family dies, his sons choose one of themselves to take his place, and the family remains together, until it becomes too large for a single household. Then other houses are built near by, and so it is stated that "a single household often forms a whole street." Thus the family tie is a remarkably strong one in Servia; and especially strong is the bond uniting brothers and sisters to each other. It is customary for the mother and sisters of a dead Servian, and not his wife, to mourn and keep watch at his grave.

A singular custom which exists in some parts of Servia is thus described by Herr Ranke: "When one of two brothers whose birthdays fall in the same month dies, the survivor is chained to the deceased, until he causes some strange youth to be called to him, whom he chooses in his brother's stead, and is liberated by him. The Servians never celebrate their birthdays. Each house

has its patron saint, and that saint's day is the occasion of the chief family festival.

The costumes of the Servians, of the men and of the women, are among the most picturesque in Europe. The men wear drab-colored short jackets lined with red, caps and sashes of red, and their belts are provided with pistols and poniards. Their legs are covered with baggy trousers to the knee, below which point they fit close to the calves and ankles. The dress somewhat resembles that of the provincial Greeks.

The Servian women dress with conspicuous ostentation. They wear skirts of silk of a bright color, magenta being a favorite tint; ample crinoline supports this dress. The robe is trimmed at the wrists with rich and deep silver embroidery, and there is gold-lace embroidery around the neck. A wide sash is worn about the waist, with long fringed ends hanging down in front the whole length of the dress. The women's heads are adorned with red leather caps worked with silver or gold-lace. The hair is braided around the cap in a deep band, so as to conceal all of the cap except the top. They wear gold ear-rings, almost without exception.

From their heads, too, one often sees a long wide chain of gold or silver coins hanging down over their backs. These coins are of all dates, some of them being very ancient; and these peculiar head-dresses, as well as bracelets and necklaces made in the same way, are generally heirlooms, and descend from mother to daughter.

One of the most interesting incidents of Servian life, is their songs and minstrelsy. The poetry of this romantic people long since attracted the attention of Goethe, Lockhart, Bowring, and Owen Meredith, the present Lord Lytton. The songs which are still sung in

valleys, are so ancient that their authors have sunk into oblivion. They are fervidly patriotic.

"Inspired by the grand scenery of the country," says a writer on them, "by the patriarchal life of its people, and by the incidents of their eventful history, they are considered the finest of all the Sclavonian songs."

Many of them celebrate the heroic deeds of Nemania and Stephen Dushan, and the era before the Turkish conquest; others echo the patriotic refrains of the wars of independence; yet others reflect the long era of tranquility under the mild rule of the sultans. Minstrelsy, which has faded out of France and Germany with the extinction of the troubadour and the minnesinger, still survives in Servia in all its mediæval vigor. In every Servian household is to be found the "*gusl*," a musical instrument peculiar to the country, by which the national songs are always accompanied.

In the long winter evenings, when work is over, and the family is gathered about the roaring fire of oak, one of the men sings stirring melodies to the *gusl*, while the women spin and weave. Even the superiors of the monasteries sing to the *gusl*. Song is an invariable incident of public meetings, and probably there is not an inn in Servia where there is not singing every night.

On the mountain where boys tend the flocks, in the valley where the reapers gather in the corn, in the depth of the forest, the traveler hears alike the echo of these songs, ever the solace of the men in all their varying occupations. There are many wandering minstrels in Servia, who tramp about the country with their *gusls*, and who never fail to receive a welcome, food, and a lodging, wherever they go.

Even those Servians who are Mohammedans are too patriotic, not to join their Christian countrymen in the

songs which recount the deeds of a common though Christian ancestry. These old songs are both lyrical and historic, and an English critic declares that the best of them are in no wise inferior to those of Béranger.

The traditional customs of the Servians are very numerous, and some of them are very quaint and poetic. Many of them are of a religious nature. When, for instance, thanksgiving is had for the vintage, large clusters of grapes are carried in metal basins into the churches by the brilliantly arrayed peasantry; and, when the services are over, these clusters are passed about among the people. The corn harvest is attended by a somewhat similar custom. Ornamented plates containing baked corn are brought into church during the holy communion, in the center of each of which a lighted candle is fixed, and these are placed below the altar. They are blessed by the bishop, and carried home and eaten in the evening.

It would appear that the Servians are not fond of going to law; for they have a custom of choosing a village elder, to whom disputants resort, and who settles their difficulties.

Among the most curious customs are those relating to marriage. The Servian marriages are usually arranged by the parents, with little regard to the preferences of the young couple. It is a matter of commercial contract, as it is to a great extent in France. Before the bride can enter into the house of her new husband, whither she is led by her eldest brother, she must go through certain symbolic ceremonies. She must dress an infant, touch the walls of the house with a distaff, in token that she is to work with it under their protection, and stand upon a table with bread, water, and wine in her hands, as a sign that she is to have these in her care,

and with a piece of sugar in her mouth, to admonish her that she should speak little, and that little sweetly.

Another singular custom is the forming of what is called "the tie of adoptive brotherhood." Two men make a vow of eternal friendship, brotherhood, and fidelity to each other, in the name of St. John. This tie is recognized by the community, and the two are called "brothers in God." So sacred is this vow esteemed, that he who should break it would be deemed to have committed a crime unpardonable in this life or the life to come.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTENEGRO AND GREECE.

MONTENEGRO, the Black Mountain, called also in the Servian tongue (the language of its inhabitants), *Tchernagora*, and by the Turks *Kara-dagh*, is a small principality, situated wholly among the spurs of the Black Mountain range, having an area of only 1,770 square miles, and a population in 1871, of 195,585 inhabitants, distributed over 310 mountain hamlets. Cettinge, its capital, is one of these villages. It has no sea-port, and indeed no sea-coast; Austria on one side, and Turkey on the other, having cut it off completely from all access to the sea. Its inhabitants, who are of the Servian branch of the Sclavonic family, are a rough, semi-civilized, but brave and patriotic people, passionately attached to their rocky and barren soil, as warlike, and intolerant of oppression or foreign rule, as the Araucanians of South America, and nearly as barbarous as the Turks, in their mode of warfare. The surface of the country presents a succession of wild limestone ridges, occasionally diversified with lofty peaks. Its rugged aspect may be inferred, from a legend often rehearsed by the people, that when "God was distributing stones over the earth, the bag that held them burst, and let them all fall upon Montenegro." Though never able to raise more than about 20,000 fighting men, this little State has always maintained its independence, though for a time obliged

to pay a small tribute to Turkey. It has been, for four hundred years, in a chronic state of war; the line of frontier, between it and Turkey, being a constant subject of contention, when there was no other of greater importance. The Turks, dashing and brave warriors though they are, have never been able to inflict a defeat upon the Montenegrins, except when they crushed them by a vast preponderance of numbers; and situated as they are in their mountain fastnesses, the boast of the Montenegrins is hardly an exaggeration, when they say that "one Montenegrin is equal to ten Turks." There have hardly been five consecutive years of peace, during the last two or three centuries; and during these almost constant conflicts, there has been no atrocity wanting, on either side, which fiendish human ingenuity could devise. It had long been the custom of the Montenegrins to cut off the heads of their Turkish foes, and bring them home as trophies, and they did not always wait till they were dead, before beheading them. Of late this practice has been partially discontinued, but they still slice off the ears and noses of their foes. Yet they can hardly be blamed for these acts, since, for four hundred years past, and even to the present hour, the Turks have been in the habit of not only cutting off the heads of Montenegrins, whom they succeeded in capturing, but of impaling their prisoners alive, and cutting off their hands and feet before beheading them. In one respect, the Montenegrin is far above the Turk in civilization and honor; even in their wildest raids, no Montenegrin soldier or brigand was ever guilty of any disrespect to a woman, or any outrage upon a child; while in Montenegro, as everywhere else, the Turk has been notorious for the most atrocious barbarities, to both women and children. For the rest, the Montenegrins are industrious, patient of labor and

A PASS IN THE KARA-DAGH (MONTENEGRO).

fatigue, hospitable in the extreme, frank, open-hearted and generous, and even in their poverty, ready to share all they have with a stranger. They are a truthful people, and so incapable of deceit that more than once they have fallen into the wily stratagems of the Turks, and relying upon their good faith, have been basely and cruelly murdered; thirty-seven of their chiefs falling victims at one time to these deceivers. That they hate the Turks most bitterly, is true; the doctrine of the forgiveness of enemies under such circumstances is not wont to find many practical adherents among such a race, but they are far less intolerant, even to Turks and Mahometans, than would be supposed.

The code now in force in Montenegro belongs to the time of Danilo, of whom we shall have more to say, presently—it would be called anywhere else, a Bill of Rights, or a Declaration of Independence, as well as a code. The following are some of its provisions:

Art. 1. All Montenegrins are equal before the law.

Art. 2. In virtue of the hereditary liberty hitherto preserved, honor, purity (or sacredness) of life, and liberty remain assured to every Montenegrin, and no one shall be able to deprive him of either of these sacred things, except by due course of law.

In regard to *insults:*

The Montenegrin who insults a judge, woiwode (nobleman) or elder, shall pay a fine of twenty talari, and a fine of twenty talari shall be paid by any judge, woiwode, or elder, who insults a common Montenegrin.

"A thief for his first offense is fined, for his third offense is shot."

"The man who does not take arms when his country is attacked shall be deprived of his weapons, and never may he again wear them. He can never hold any place

of honor in his country's service, and he shall be condemned to wear a woman's apron, that every one may be informed that he has not the heart of a man."

All violations of chastity are punishable with death, the woman (if consenting to the offense) being stoned by her own relatives, and the man shot to death by his kindred. "There is not," says Miss Mackenzie, "a people in all Europe so free from social impurity, as the Montenegrins."

On the question of religious toleration, Article 90, of the Code, says: "Although in our state there is no nationality but the Sclavic Servian, and no religion but the Orthodox Eastern Church, nevertheless the professor of any other religion may live among us freely, and enjoy the same privileges as a brother Montenegrin."

On the right of Asylum:

"According to the will and testament of St. Peter,* who was our Sovereign, every fugitive setting foot in our free state shall there be safe, and no one shall dare to molest him, so long as he behaves peaceably. He shall enjoy the same rights as a native Montenegrin, and, if he does evil, he shall be chastised according to this Code."

This Code is not, in any of its provisions, a dead letter. The Secretary of Prince Nicolas said to Miss Mackenzie, in answer to her inquiries, in regard to toleration: "I myself am a Roman Catholic; the servants who occupy this house are Roman Catholics. There are at this moment a few Mahometan fugitives residing within our territory, and the prince has given them permission to erect a place of worship whenever they choose. For fear they should not have full confidence in his sanction he has offered them money to assist the building, and not even

* The Vladika Peter Nĭegŭsh, Peter I., their first independent sovereign.

Mirko (father of the prince, and general of the army) has a word to say against it." And these Mahometans were Turks, their bitterest enemies!

In regard to the right of asylum, the little principality has defied not only Turkey but Austria and Russia, when fugitives had escaped from these countries.

According to the Code the Montenegrin woman has in every respect the same legal rights as a man, and especial provision is made to secure her a full share in the division of property. Marriage is indissoluble, though separation *a mense et thoro*, is allowed for cause. The law takes care that no woman shall be married against her inclination, and the parents may not compel her to marry a man she dislikes or prevent her marriage with one whom she likes.

The condition of morals is very high, and though the laws are strictly enforced there are very few criminals, and the prison has rarely more than two or three tenants. The Vendetta, which has long been the custom of the country, and the *tchetas* or raids into Turkish territory, in time of peace, are strictly prohibited by Danilo's Code, and the prohibition, in both cases, has proved effectual.

A people of such noble instincts, and such purity and manliness of character, may well be forgiven, if, in war time, with an unscrupulous and terribly cruel foe, they return, to some extent, ferocity for ferocity.

Physically, they are perhaps the finest people in Europe; of great stature, yet well formed, and with small wrists and ancles, with flowing beard and finely-cut features, they compare well with the best specimens of the Circassian and Georgian tribes, as the typical men of the Caucasian race. In this physical perfection, as well as in moral, social, and intellectual qualities, their present prince is easily "Chief among the captains," a king

among men, with the strongest hand, the swiftest foot, and the most generous, brave, and loving heart, among all the sons of Tchernagora. He is said to be also the best shot, and the best horseman in his realm.

Settled by Serbs at about the same time with Bosnia and Servia, and partaking of the freedom and the religious and civil control of Servia, when its territory was largest, these highlanders gradually took on the peculiarities incident to a secluded mountain life; but, when the Ottoman power had overrun and subdued Servia, in 1459, and the dreary years that followed, they found it a far more difficult thing to bring the handful of mountaineers into subjection, than to subdue the great armies of the Servian Czar on the plains of Kossovo. For nearly a hundred years, they so far followed the fortunes of the Servian princes as to pay a moderate tribute to the Ottoman; but, in 1485, Ivan Tsernoievitch, Servian Prince of Zeta, now the Turkish sandjak of Scutari,* finding he could no longer defend the level country around the Lake of Scutari against the Turk, called around him his bravest heroes, and took of them an oath on the New Testament, to abide true to their faith and nation, and rather die than accept terms from the infidel. Whoever broke this oath, should be invested with a woman's apron, and hooted from the ranks of men.

Then the Prince of Zeta turned his back on his "White Castle," and fertile lands, and led his devoted band into the mountains. In the rock-girt plain of Cettinge, he planted the Eagle banner of Servia, and erected a Christian church; thither he transferred the throne of the Princes of Zeta and the see of the Metropolitan. His fair lands of Zeta by the Lake of Scutari, became the

* A district of Albania, peopled by Serbs

province of a Turkish pasha; but the heroes of the Black Mountains, both under Ivan and his son George, fought and beat back the Turks.

In 1516, George Ivanovitch abdicated, having first in the assembly of the nation, solemnly made over his power to the Metropolitan, and thenceforward the Black Mountain was ruled by a Vladika or prince-bishop, the first of the order being the Metropolitan of that time; while others of different families, succeeded till 1697.

Petrovitch, a scion of the house of Nïegūsh, who had abandoned the lower lands of the Herzegovina, and removed to the mountain top, became Vladika, and since that time, through many wars, his descendants have always offered such a sturdy resistance, that though they have time and again lost more than half their men capable of bearing arms, they have inflicted, in almost every case, such severe injuries on their foe, that he has been very willing to make peace with them; and when the opportunity came for a new fray, all Montenegro rejoiced. The house of Nïegūsh is still the reigning house in the principality, and has had an eventful history. Its founder, Petrovitch, having inflicted a more than usually severe defeat upon the Turks, entered into a religious and political alliance with Russia. His great-grandson, Peter I., better known as St. Peter, ruled for fifty years, and established a code of laws for the people, enlarged their frontier, and kept their enemies in constant terror. "Even on his death-bed," say the Montenegrins, "he spoke words to our elders, which have kept peace among us since he is gone. While he yet lived, we swore by his name; we felt his smile a blessing, and his anger a curse; we do so still." His son Peter Petrovitch, or Peter II., was the last Vladika, a man of great wisdom, and of re-

markable literary culture. He was widely celebrated as a poet, and had succeeded in reducing the Servian language to harmonious measures. He died October 31st, 1851, and was succeeded by his nephew, Danilo I., the most eminent of all the rulers of Montenegro, a man of comprehensive mind, of quick perceptions, and of great legal, as well as executive ability. He was the author of the code, under which Montenegro is governed, and had been so successful in extending the frontiers of Montenegro that he purposed, had he lived, to remove his capital to the banks of Lake Scutari. He was a man of no personal ambition, but of the most intense patriotism. His message to Prince Milosh, Hospodar of Servia, illustrates the character of the man: "Prince, go forward, and I also will go forward. Whenever our ways meet, trust me for being the first to hail you as Czar of the Serbs." Yet Milosh was in all respects his inferior, a man of very little education, in early life a swineherd, and though brave, ignorant, imperious, and coarse; Danilo, on the contrary, was of noble birth, a man of refinement, culture, and capacity, and in the opinion of those who dreamed of a coming Pan-Slavonic empire, the man of all others to be its leader. To Milosh's successor, Alexander Karageorgevitch, he wrote in the same strain. To him the one great objective was, the freedom of all the Servian race. When he succeeded to the throne, he refused to take the title of Vladika, prince-bishop, believing that the civil and ecclesiastical power should be separated, and that Montenegro should have a Metropolitan of her own. He took the title of Hospodar—Prince—by which all the Servian princes are now known.

This able and sagacious ruler was assassinated at Cattaro, on the Austrian sea-coast, August 13, 1860, by a renegade Montenegrin, who on being captured, declared

that he was instigated by the Austrian government. All the Montenegrins, without exception, wore mourning for more than a year, for his untimely death.

He was succeeded by his nephew, Nicolas I., the present Hospodar, of whom we have spoken at length elsewhere. (See NICOLAS I., in Part II. of this volume.)

Even as we write, Montenegro has been passing through another fiery trial, in a most desperate attempt of Turkey to crush her. The Ottoman government sent early in May, 1877, a force of 60,000, intending to force their way through the Black Mountains in all directions, and completely wipe out the Montenegrin name and nation. The resistance was as it always has been, of the most desperate character—but Montenegro, weakened by two previous wars, within the last five years, could bring not over 12,000 or 14,000 men into the field; and though the Turkish loss in killed exceeded 10,000, yet the Turkish commander persistently held his force to their work, believing that by constant pounding, he could accomplish his object, and, what with the exhaustion of the Montenegrins, and alleged treachery on the part of one of their officers, the future seemed darker than ever for them. But the alarm of the Turks at the crossing of the Danube by the Russians in such large force, and the peril of losing Bulgaria, led them to call off their force from Montenegro, just as there was a possibility of their success.

But a people so desperately brave and patriotic as the Montenegrins, can hardly be conquered by any enemy, however disproportionate the force brought against them. It is related of Mirko, the father of the present Hospodar, and commander-in-chief of the Montenegrin army, that in the war of 1861, when his troops were obliged to retire from Rieka, which was the home of a

large number of his troops, he ordered every man to fire his own house, that the Turks might find no shelter, and his order was obeyed without a murmur. In this same campaign, the Turkish commander Dervish Pasha, taking it for granted that the Montenegrins must be despairing of their future, sent to invite Mirko to come personally and treat with him. Mirko was lying on the hill-side, wrapped in his military cloak, and answered the messenger over his shoulder: "I am weary; you had better invite *my rifle;* I will gladly speak to the Pasha, through its mouth." In one of the assaults of the Turks upon the mountain position, held by Mirko, his ammunition gave out, but nothing daunted, he commenced hurling and rolling huge stones down upon his assailants, and drove them back with these weapons.

Mirko's patriotism is no more marked than that of his people. A cousin of Prince Nicolas, pointed out to Misses Mackenzie and Irby, in 1862, a white-haired old man, who was wearily hoeing a little plot of ground. "This time last year," said the young man, "that man had eight stout sons; all fell in the war, and now he is left to toil in his old age." The women are not less brave than the men. A sister of Prince Nicolas followed her father to the war, whenever he would permit it, and fought as enthusiastically as any of the troops. When a battle was imminent, the Montenegrin women would gather on some commanding rock-point, and encourage the warriors with their shrill cries. "On, on ye Serbian heroes! For the Holy Cross, for Serbian freedom!" The husband of one woman was an ensign, or standard-bearer. He fell in battle, and was succeeded in office by the eldest of his grown-up sons. That son fell, and was followed by a second, and he, in his turn, by a third. The woman's fourth and last son was still a child, so she

shouldered the banner herself, saying, "I will bear it till my son be grown. It is for my country!"

It is so obviously for the interest of all the civilized powers of Europe, that this brave and gallant people should have, what they have been so long struggling for, a good seaport on the Adriatic, the rectification of their frontiers so as to include that portion of the Herzegovina and of Albania, which is peopled by their kindred in blood and religion, and that they should be freed from the constant collisions with the Turks, which have been in progress for five hundred years; that, we trust, the present occasion may not be suffered to pass, without these concessions being insisted upon. Whether that wilder dream of a grand Servian State, embracing Servia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Montenegro, part of Albania and Bulgaria, shall become a reality, is, perhaps, a matter to be determined in a more distant, though not very remote future. Should such a result follow directly or indirectly from the war now in progress, and a native prince become the Czar of the new empire, the probabilities are decidedly in favor of the brave and thoughtful Hospodar of Montenegro, not perhaps so much from any marked military ability, as from his manliness, his culture, and his remarkable personal magnetism.

GREECE.

There is much in the history of Greece to interest our readers. For ages before Russia was inhabited, except by the numberless wild beasts that roamed through the forest, and the Tartar hordes, which occasionally penetrated beyond the Ural, in quest of game; and for centuries, during the period when no keel vexed the waters of the Danube, Greece was the most cultivated and refined

nation of the world. Its poets, historians, philosophers, tragedians, painters, and sculptors were world-renowned; and long before civilization, culture, art, and literature had dawned in Western Europe, the cities of Greece were thronged with students and scholars from all lands, anxious to avail themselves of her culture. With a territory never much more than half that of New England, she ruled the world by the force of her civilization. Her language was spoken throughout the Roman Empire; the grand epics and lyrics of her poets thrilled the hearts of even the distant islands of Ultima Thule, while the philosophy, history, and mathematics of her scholars, were quoted in every civilized land. Egypt, from which she had received the early germs of her intellectual culture, had, long before the Christian era, established at Alexandria and elsewhere, Greek schools of philosophy and art, which attained a reputation almost equal to those of Athens. A little later, Rome became almost more wholly Greek than Greece itself. Its language, literature, art, and philosophy, were copied from Greek models, and fully imbued with the Greek spirit.

After the Christian era, the Greek tongue, from its copiousness, its power of reflecting the most delicate shades of thought, its capacity for the expression of all the phases of philosophical reasoning, and its marvelous richness and elegance, became the chosen medium for the diffusion of Christianity, and such of the sacred books, as had not been originally written in that language, were speedily translated into it. When Constantine removed his capital to Byzantium, or, as he re-named it, Constantinople, the Eastern Empire became exclusively Greek, and though Constantinople, and not Athens was its capital, it was thoroughly imbued with the Greek spirit. Yet almost immediately after this transfer, Greece Proper

ALBANIAN WOMAN.

began to lose the distinctive character of its population. The Greeks mingled and intermarried with the Albanians and the Servian and Sclavic races, and lost much of their culture, and still more of their ambitious and independent spirit. They adhered with commendable fidelity to the Greek emperor, till near the downfall of the Greek empire, but in the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, their principal cities were captured by Bajazet I. and Murad II., and in 1460, the entire peninsula, which had, for some time, maintained a more or less independent government, under the protection of Venice and France, fell into the hands of the Turks.

For the 360 years that followed, Greece was most of the time a Turkish province, though Venice, which, for a century or more, had large, but hotly contested, possessions in the Grecian Archipelago, was also, on several occasions, in the possession of the Morea and other portions of Greece.

At length Turkish oppression reached such a height as to become intolerable to the Greeks, and stimulated in part, perhaps, by the rising of the Moldavians under one of the brothers Ypsilanti, in 1821, they also commenced an insurrection under Nicolas Ypsilanti, encouraged thereto by a Russian diplomatist, Count Capo d'Istria. Their bravery, and the skillful management of their leaders, made them more than a match for the Turks, though the latter were, as usual, more distinguished for their cruelty and brutality, than for military ability. At the end of three years (in 1824), Mahmoud II., fearing lest he should lose the whole of Greece, called on Mehemet Ali, the Egyptian pasha, to aid him, offering him Crete and the Morea as his reward, if he would subdue the Greeks. Then commenced a war, which has had no

parallel in modern times, for brutal cruelty and outrage. The Egyptian, divesting himself of every element of character which indicated any sympathy with humanity, proceeded to exhibit the worst traits of the fiend. For three years the war raged, and Ibrahim Pasha (son of Mehemet Ali), systematically destroyed all before him. In April, 1825, Missolonghi, the strongest fortress in Greece, fell before the united force of the Egyptian army and fleet, and this severe blow was followed by the capture of Athens, in June, 1826, after a year's siege. Greece was now prostrate, and appealed to the European powers and to the United States for help. They were slow in moving. In July, 1827, the allied powers advised that an armistice should be established between Turkey and Greece, and that Greece should be put upon the footing of a tributary power, with the right to choose her own governors. Greece, crushed as she was, would have consented to these hard terms, but the Porte obstinately and indignantly refused to listen to them, or to receive any written communication from the allied powers. Thereupon, the powers instructed the admiral of their joint fleet in the Mediterranean, to prevent the landing of any more hostile troops on the soil of Greece. Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the Turco-Egyptian fleet, refused to comply with the demand of the admiral, and entered the harbor of Navarino, with his fleet of 120 vessels, carrying 2,000 guns. The allied fleets followed him into the harbor, not intending an immediate attack, but Ibrahim fired upon their flag of truce, and an action ensued, in which the Turkish squadron was almost annihilated. Not more than twenty or twenty-five vessels remained, and these were disabled. This terrible blow secured the freedom of Greece, though the allied powers, and especially the Tory administration in England, had

not intended to cripple so effectually the power of Turkey.

In 1828, the Greeks had so far achieved their freedom, that they elected Capo d'Istria as their president. The conflict was maintained, but with less violence and vigor on the part of Turkey; but, in 1830, after the London Protocol, the Ottoman Porte was compelled, reluctantly, to acknowledge the independence of Greece, and it was placed under the protection of Great Britain, France, and Russia. These powers were desirous of providing a king for the new kingdom, and offered the place, at first, to Prince John, of Saxony, who declined it; and then, to Prince Leopold, of Saxe Coburg (afterward King of Belgium), who accepted on certain conditions, which were not acceptable to the allies; and after being titular king from February 11 to May 22, 1830, he resigned. Meanwhile the Greeks were doing very well under their president, Capo d'Istria, until his assassination at Nauplia, in October, 1831.

The next choice of the allied powers fell on Otho, second son of Louis, king of Bavaria, a youth under seventeen years of age. This selection was ratified by the national assembly of the Greek people, and in February, 1833, though not quite eighteen, he arrived at Nauplia, then the seat of government, and a Bavarian regency managed the government till 1835, when he was crowned. Until 1843, the kingdom was governed without a constitution, but in September of that year, the military and people demanded a constitution, which was granted, and approved by the national assembly in the ensuing March. King Otho was somewhat too arbitrary in his rule, and occasionally transcended the authority granted him by the constitution. In October, 1862, the king and queen had been enjoying themselves in an

excursion among the islands of the Archipelago, in the royal yacht, when, on arriving in the harbor of Salamis, they were met by a deputation, who informed them, that the throne of Greece had been declared vacant during their absence, and that the provincial government would not allow them to come on shore. They were obliged to obey, and retired to Bavaria.

In December, the provisional government proceeded to order the election of a king by the people. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, was elected by an almost unanimous vote, but as he proved ineligible under the treaty stipulation, a second choice was made, and Prince George of Denmark, brother of the Princess of Wales, was chosen, and accepted, on the condition that the Ionian Islands should be added to the kingdom. He was crowned in October, 1863, and four years later, married the Princess Olga, daughter of the Russian Grand Duke Constantine, and niece of the Czar. (For the reign of this prince, see George I., King of Greece, in Part II.)

The present constitution of Greece was adopted October 29, 1864. It vests the whole legislative power in a single chamber of representatives, called the Boulé, elected by manhood suffrage, for the term of four years. The Boulé must meet annually for not less than three, nor more than six months. No sitting is valid, unless at least one-half of the members of the assembly are present, and no bill can pass into a law without an absolute majority of members. Every measure, before being adopted, must be discussed and voted, article by article, thrice, and on three separate days. But the Legislative Assembly has no power to alter the constitution itself; particular provisions may be reviewed after the lapse of ten years, with the exception of fundamental principles.

The number of members, dependent upon the number of population, was 188 in the session of 1876.

The executive is vested in the king, and his responsible ministers, the heads of seven departments, viz., the Ministry of the Interior, of Finance, of Justice, of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, of War, of Marine, and of Foreign Affairs. Ministerial changes are very frequent. There is also a Council of State of from 15 to 25 members, named by the Crown at the recommendation of the ministers, and holding office for ten years, whose duty it is to receive and examine all bills, which are to be voted upon by the Boulé, to examine and return them with observations or amendments within ten days, and in general to perform the functions of a deliberative Council of State. The finances of Greece are not in a good condition, and its debt, which amounted in 1876 to $76,800,000, is large for so small a State. Greece needs more territory, and more persistent industry, with freedom from the apprehension of attacks from Turkey. She has not much to gain by joining in the war, unless it be a position to claim Thessaly and Janina, making the Vojutza river and the Volutsa chain of mountains its northern boundary, and this it is hardly likely to obtain, unless "the sick man's" property in Europe is divided.

The great majority of the inhabitants are adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church. There are also about 24,000 Roman Catholics and a few Protestants. By the constitution of 1864, the Greek Orthodox Church is declared the religion of the State, but toleration and liberty of worship is guaranteed to all other sects of whatever form of belief. Nominally the Greek clergy owe allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but the real ecclesiastical head of the Church in Greece, is the Holy Synod, consisting of the Metropolitan of Athens, and

four archbishops and bishops, who must reside at Athens.

Education is improving, but is still at a low ebb. There are about 500 teachers and 64,061 pupils, 6,250 of them females, in the public and private schools, a very large proportion of the women are illiterate.

Greece has been so generally visited by travelers, and Greeks are so often seen in our own country, that there is not the same necessity for a description of the manners and customs of the people, as in those countries which are little known. The scenery and climate of Greece and of the Ionian Isles, which now form a part of the realm, are, as they always have been, remarkably attractive. Though situated in a semi-tropical latitude, and yielding profusely the fruits and flowers of their location, the summer heat and winter cold are so tempered by the waters of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Archipelago, that the words of the poet are hardly an exaggeration—

"Eternal summer gilds them yet."

And while the landscapes are of surpassing beauty, the interest with which nature has invested them is heightened by the fact that every cape, headland, and rocky eminence is historical, and that the traveler is constantly reminded of the events of the long-buried past.

CHAPTER IX.

BOSNIA AND THE HERZEGOVINA.

THE history of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, though connected at many points, by identity of race, patriotic sympathy, and partial religious affiliation, with that of Servia, has yet many differences of great importance and of deep interest. The inhabitants of both Bosnia and the Little Duchy—which is the translation of the name Herzegovina—were among the families of the tribe of Sclavonians, known as Serbs and Croats, who early in the fifth century of our era accepted the invitation of the Greek Emperor, and migrated from Galicia and other regions north of the Danube to the country south of the Danube, driving back to the Crimea and to Asia, the Avars, Huns, and other Tartar tribes which had swooped down on these fair lands. They soon were in high favor with the Eastern Emperor, and in the sixth century, Upravda, the son of Istok, a Bosniac Serb, mounted the throne of the Cæsars, as the Emperor Justinian, while his able but unfortunate general, also of the Sclavonia race, was that Veliçar, whom we know as Belisarius. At first the Serbs of Servia, the Bosniacs, the Herzegovinians, the mountaineers of the Black Mountain, the inhabitants of Northern Albania, or Zenta, and the Croatians, were all of one blood, and though scattered widely in their Zupas or Communes, each sprang to the other's

help in time of trouble. But the Bosniacs, Croats, and Herzegovinians occupying a region west of the others, and bordering on Hungary and Austria, intermarried with other nations, and, though retaining in great purity their political institutions, such as the Commune with its elders, and the feudal principle by which the chiefs of the aggregated Zupas exercised the right of calling out their retainers, who were bound to render them service, they made wide departures from their fellow Serbs, in religion and in their affiliation with other nations, as well as in their language.

A second migration of these Serbs from north of the Danube, occurred in the seventh century. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, they were still governed like the Serbs of Servia, by their Zupans and Grand Zupans, though the latter name seems to have been shortened in Bosnia into *Ban*, and corresponds very nearly to the German Grand Duke. They acknowledged, to a certain extent, the suzerainty of the Eastern Empire, but this acknowledgment was only nominal. In the ninth century, the Bulgarian Czar, Simeon, erected the new Bulgarian Empire, and compelled the Servian and Bosnian princes or Bans, to yield to his sway. In the tenth century the Serbs had thrown off the Bulgarian yoke, and began to appear as independent princes. About A. D. 914, a Croat prince, or Grand Zupan Tomislav, became prominent for his abilities as a ruler, and received the title of King of the Croats, and was recognized as their sovereign by some of the Bosnian Bans. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Greek emperor, Basil, subdued the Bulgarians with terrible slaughter, and soon after subjugated the Croats and their king, but the Servian Grand Zupans and the Bosniac Bans resisted, and defeated and annihilated two

Byzantine armies in the gorges of the Black Mountains. But though often in alliance with the Grand Zupans of Servia, and sometimes with Croatia and Hungary, the Bosniacs preferred to maintain their independence. They did, indeed, acknowledge a vague allegiance to Hungary in the twelfth century, but it was only nominal. About 1150, Boritch or Borić, a natural son of Coleman, King of Hungary, became Ban of Bosnia, and aided his father against the Greek emperors; his son, known as "the good Ban Culin," came to the throne in 1168, and accepted his investiture from the Hungarian king, and acknowledged himself as his tributary. Culin's reign of thirty-six years was one of profound peace, and of great prosperity to Bosnia. He developed its mineral and commercial resources in a marked degree, encouraged immigration, introduced a currency of gold and silver coins, all bearing the stamp of the Bosnian mint, and erected fortresses where they were needed. But under his reign there was also a more full development of a religious sect, whose history is thenceforward linked with that of the Bosnian people.

The Sclavonic race, in its early and pre-historic period, was evidently a branch of the Aryan family, and like most of the other races sprung from that stock, held to the doctrines which, at a later time, was proclaimed in the Zend-avesta, and the discourses of Zoroaster. They recognized two principles as ruling the world, the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil, and these two principles they believed to be constantly in conflict for the sovereignty of the world. The Parsees of Persia and India still adhere to this doctrine. In the early history of Christianity, it was adopted, with some modification of detail, by several sects, and by some entire nations, notably by the Armenians, and the sects known as Mani-

chæans and Paulicians. The policy of the Greek emperors in planting colonies of Armenians, even while they denounced them as heretics, among their Sclavonic subjects, in Thrace, Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, etc., gave a very wide opportunity for propagandizing, to these so-called heretics, and it was diligently improved. As early as the close of the ninth century, there was a large body of believers in doctrines represented by their enemies as those of the Manichæans or Massalians, in Bulgaria, but they were known there by their enemies as Bogomiles, either as some say from a bishop of that name, or from a Bulgarian phrase, *Bog z'milui*, signifying "God have mercy," which was a literal translation of the names of the Massalians and Euchites, oriental sects holding the same alleged opinions. They themselves did not recognize the name of Bogomiles, but called themselves simply "Christians." By the end of the tenth century, their doctrines had taken a firm root among the Serbs, especially in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. St. Vladimir, one of the early princes of Servia, was said to have been a zealous enemy of the Bogomiles, though his son and his son's wife were of that faith. During the eleventh century, the Greek emperor, Basil, and his successors, especially Alexius Comnenius, were noted as persecutors of the Bogomiles, whom they burned at the stake and tortured with great cruelty, and many of them, flying from these persecutions, found a home in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where they were, for a time at least, free from the malice of their foes. Thus, it came to pass, that in the twelfth century, Bosnia had become the headquarters of this alleged heresy.

It is uncertain what were the real doctrines of the Bogomiles. There are not, so far as is known, extant any writings of their leaders declarative of their faith,

and the representations of their enemies bear such evidence of falsehood and distortion on their face that they cannot be accepted as correct. These particulars seem to be settled; that they were generally of blameless life; that they held the doctrine of the Trinity in a different sense from the Greek or Roman church; that they regarded Satan as a son of God, and possessed of Divine power originally, but that he rebelled, and was cast out of heaven, and signally overthrown, after a terrible battle with Michael, the archangel, and the heavenly host. They recognized the scheme of redemption, through the death and resurrection of Christ, but would not worship the Virgin Mary, nor any of the saints; permitted no icons, pictures, images or crucifixes, in their houses; did not acknowledge the authority of any hierarchy, either Greek or Roman, nor the doctrines of auricular confession, absolution, trans-substantiation, nor mysticism in regard to the Lord's Supper. Their views in regard to baptism seem to have differed at different times. Some deny that they practised it at all, others say that they baptised adults, but without the trine immersion, anointing, etc., of the Greek Church, and not by affusion or sprinkling like the Roman Church. It is admitted that they did not baptize children. Their views seem to have grown more orthodox with the lapse of time. Some of the most strenuous believers among them became ascetics, and abjured marriage, the use of intoxicating drinks and meats, and devoted themselves to the active practice of good works; but the number of these ascetics was never large; it did not exceed 4,000 in the thirteenth century, when the believers in the Bogomilic doctrines were counted by millions. Their church polity was based on that of Christ and his Apostles. Their chief or leader, had twelve elders, and there were other subordinate offi-

cers under these. Their churches were very plain, without tower or steeple, without bells or pictures or statues, without chancel or altar. A copy of the Gospels was on the table, and they sang hymns of their own, and prayed *extempore*, and used also the Lord's Prayer. Their ascetics, of both sexes, had the right of preaching, and occasionally, though rarely, they were addressed by their elders or deacons.

Their doctrines spread into Italy and the west, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they were in full communion and correspondence with the Patarenes, Albigenses, and Vaudois of Italy and Germany, and their missionaries had visited and made converts in every country in Europe. On the Continent they were most widely known as *Cathari* (The pure); in England, as Paulicians, or Publicans. At the close of the twelfth century, the Italian Reniero Sacconi, who had been a Bogomile, but had abjured the faith and became an inquisitor, says that the church of the Cathari numbered thirteen bishoprics in Europe,—Sclavonic, Greek, Romance (French or Spanish), Teutonic and Anglian; of these that of Bosnia or Sclavonia was the most important. These "Reformers before the Reformation," not only led the way to the Protestant movements of Italy and France, to the Puritan development in England in its first stages, but they were the prime movers in the religious revolt led by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, among the Czechs of Bohemia and Hungary, in the early part of the fifteenth century. We have been thus particular in our account of this sect, because they exerted so great an influence throughout Europe for four centuries, and because their action, as we shall presently see, was, in a critical epoch, conclusive on the destiny of Bosnia, for a period not yet terminated.

When "the good Ban Culin" ascended the Bosnian throne, Bosnia and the Herzegovina were claimed religiously, both by the Eastern, and the Western, or Roman Catholic Church. By its language, its sympathies, its ritual, and its practice, the Church of Bosnia was a branch of the Greek Orthodox Church. But the Greek emperor, the head of that Church, had treated it harshly, and more than once had stretched forth his hand to "vex" those, whose life was purer than his own, and whose doctrines had strongly impressed the rulers of Bosnia. In 1119, the Emperor Alexius Comnenus had, by craft and deception, obtained possession of the person of the venerable Basil, a physician and the chief bishop or leader of the Bogomiles, and after questioning him with apparent friendliness in regard to his doctrines, had imprisoned him, and soon after caused him to be burned at the stake.

The Pope of Rome claimed Bosnia as part of the ancient Illyria, and as a tributary of the King of Hungary, one of his most faithful princes. The Ban Culin acknowledged a quasi-allegiance to Rome, and as late as A. D. 1180, considered himself a dutiful son of the Church. But his wife (a sister of Stephen Nemania of Servia), was one of the Bogomiles, and not long after Culin himself, and his sister, became connected with them; under the pressure exerted by the Pope and the King of Hungary, he withdrew from their assemblies, but in 1199, was again attending them, and soon after the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bosnia became a convert, as well as many thousands of the Bosnians. In vain the Pope protested, and urged the King of Hungary to punish his heretic vassal. Culin was too strong to be punished, and during his reign, at least, Bosnia furnished a safe asylum to the Bogomiles, Patarenes, or Cathari.

After his death, the King of Hungary procured the election of Zibisclav, a Roman Catholic, as Ban, but he very soon became a convert to the Bogomilian faith. The Pope sent a messenger to reason with the people, in 1216, but his labors resulted in a great extension of the heresy. He next sent the Archbishop of Colocz, with a large army, to convert them with the sword. Zibisclav recanted ignominiously, but his people did not, and that very year (1233), another Bogomilian bishop was ordained in Bosnia. In 1238, another large army entered Bosnia to exterminate the heretics; and its commander reported that he had accomplished the work, but three years later, there were more Bogomiles there than ever. In 1246, a third crusade against them was undertaken; great numbers were butchered, and thousands cast into dungeons, but the heresy was so rampant that the Pope could not keep a bishop there. Persecutions continued, and in 1291, the Inquisition was established there. Again these sheep among wolves were destined to more fiery trials than ever. In 1330, the King of Hungary and the Ban of Bosnia, combined to assist the Inquisitor, Fabian, and much innocent blood was shed. But in 1337, heresy was as rampant as ever in Bosnia, and another crusade was attempted, but failed. In 1376, after the brief over-lordship of Stephen Dushan the Czar of the Serbs, the Ban Stephen Tvartko was strong enough to extort from his uncle, Louis of Hungary, permission to assume the title of King of Bosnia. He was a good and wise ruler, and though personally inclined to the Greek Church, and subsequently to Roman Catholicism, he was tolerant and kindly toward the Bogomiles, who were still a power in the State. He had attained to a domain nearly as large as that of Stephen Dushan;—Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Northern

Albania and Croatia, all acknowledged his sovereignty. He attacked the Turks at Plocnik in 1387, and defeated them with great slaughter. In 1389, his troops formed the largest part of the force at the great battle of Kossovo; and though this battle was fatal to Servia, it did not seriously affect the power of Tvartko. He died in 1391, and during the short reign of his successor (1391–1396), the Turks gained a foothold in the Herzegovina. Tvartko III., who reigned from 1396 to 1443, was not so able a man as his father, the first of the name, and his reign was distracted by civil wars, and the troubles of factions, of which the Turks took advantage, to seize small portions of his territory. The latter years of his reign were peaceful, and all the efforts of the Greek Emperor, or Roman Pope, to induce him to persecute the Bogomiles, were fruitless. Stephen Thomas, an illegitimate son of Ostoja, a claimant of the Hungarian throne, succeeded Tvartko, "the Just," in 1443. He was weak and vacillating; just fitted to become the tool of designing men. The Pope's legate, Thomasini, was one of the most artful and subtle men of his time. Stephen Thomas was a member of the Bogomile communion; but the legate skillfully playing upon his fears and his cupidity, threatened him with the claim of the legitimate son of Ostoja, on the one hand, and with the refusal of the Duke of St. Sava, the Herzegovinian prince, and of the King of Hungary, to recognize him, unless he abjured his Bogomilian heresy, and became a devout Catholic. He was too weak to resist, and made his public abjuration in 1444, and was crowned king the same year. This betrayal of his faithful subjects (for the Bogomiles were at once subjected to persecution), wrought most deplorable effects. The weakness of the king called forth the contempt of even those who had insisted on

the abjuration. Not long after, the King of Hungary had fought the great battle of Varna with the Turks, and had fallen in the battle, and his army were routed. Stephen Cosaccia, the Duke of St. Sava, who had refused to pay his allegiance to Stephen Thomas, as his suzerain, had become, at least professedly, a Bogomile himself. A great council of the realm, or "Conventus," was assembled at Coinica, in 1446, attended by prelates, barons, and some writers say, by the Bogomile elders also, which drew up a charter for the protection of the realm, which the king signed, as King John of England did "Magna Charta," at Runnymede. This charter accorded comparative toleration to the Bogomiles; but the king was under the influence of his evil genius, the legate Thomasini, and he sanctioned the persecutions of the Inquisition. The Bogomiles rendered desperate by the faithlessness of the king, invited the protection of the Turks in 1450, and on their approach, the king bought an ignominious peace from Murad II., by the payment of $63,000 a year. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, roused King Stephen Thomas from his lethargy, and he sent forth from his palace of Sutisca, an appeal to the whole Christian world for help against the Infidel. But none of those who had been so urgent with him to abandon his heresy, were willing to aid him. The Pope, indeed, sent him a consecrated standard and a cross, but no troops. Meanwhile, John Hunyadi, the Hungarian hero, was dead, there was civil war in Hungary, and the Turks were constantly making raids into Bosnia, and selling their helpless captives for slaves. The Catholics had lost their confidence in the weak and feeble king, and the Bogomiles had none to lose. He attempted to reduce a refractory Croatian vassal early in 1459, when he was assassinated, according to report, by his step-brother,

Radivoj, and his own illegitimate son, Stephen Tomasević. The parricide Stephen at once usurped the throne, and called upon the feudal nobility of Bosnia to meet him on the field of Kossovo, in June, to attack the infidels who had captured Constantinople. But Stephen Thomasević was a greater coward and poltroon than his father, and also a more intense bigot. There is no record that he ever appeared on the field of Kossovo in June, or at any other time, but before the close of that year, he had turned the arms of his feudal retainers against his Bogomile subjects, and drove forty thousand of them from the realm. He then attempted to throw himself and his kingdom at the foot of the Pope, offering to be his vassal, but the Pope was wise enough to refuse to accept him or his kingdom. In 1463 his embassadors appeared again before the Pope, and with the most piteous pleas and the most urgent representations of fidelity to the Roman Catholic faith, which, he said, he had proved by purging the realm of heretics, he implored help. The Pope recognized the truth of his pleas, but had not the means to help him.

Meanwhile, his oppressed subjects were negotiating for deliverance from another quarter. Although the usurper had driven out forty thousand of the Bogomiles three years before, there were not less than 200,000 of them left, and these finding themselves threatened by a large influx of Romish persecutors, and by the cruel tyranny of the unprincipled coward and despot who ruled over them, and seeing no hope of deliverance, resolved to turn their country over to the Turk, as the less of the two evils. They promised to transfer their allegiance from their Romish sovereign to the Sultan, and Mohammed II. on his part, engaged to insure them free

toleration for their religion, freedom from taxation, and other privileges.

On the 14th of June, 1463, a Turkish Pasha appeared before Bobovac, the oldest and strongest fortress of the kingdom, and the next day the Sultan followed. Bobovac was surrendered without striking a blow. The king fled to Jaycze, and thence to Klissa, where, after forty days' siege, he surrendered on condition of his life being spared, and gave up all his treasure, about $2,500,000. Within the next eight days, seventy cities, many of them strongly fortified, opened their gates to the Sultan, trusting to his solemn pledges. But when was the Turk ever known to keep his pledges? He had used the king, Stephen Tomasević, as long as he wished, and he caused him to be put to death with barbarous cruelty, on the field where he had aided in murdering his father. The most eminent of the Bosnian nobles, who had not escaped from the realm, were transported to Asia; thirty thousand of the picked youth of Bosnia were taken to recruit the Janissaries, and to be brought up in the Mahometan faith, and two hundred thousand of the inhabitants were sold as slaves or retained to gratify the lust of the Turkish soldiery. This terrible destruction fell with the greatest severity upon the cities in which the Bogomiles were a majority of the inhabitants.

This surrender and the consequences which followed it, is one of the most remarkable events of history. The Bogomiles had been cruelly persecuted, it is true; they had little or nothing to hope for from their king; for his nature was viler than his birth, and there was no dependence to be placed on any promise he might make. The Hungarian king was their bitter enemy, and the Pope was determined to exterminate them; but they had found in the past, that they throve most un-

der the fires of persecution; they knew that after their former trials, they had found peace and a long deliverance, under the administration of the Tvartko dynasty. There was not, moreover, anything very attractive in coming under the Ottoman yoke, and especially under that of Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, and the most bigoted Mahometan of his time. He had crushed Servia with the iron heel, and though he made fair promises, they were not long in discovering that they were made only to be broken.

It was a sad commentary on the inhumanity of the Pope and his vassals, that a great people, capable of the noblest impulses, and ready to give their lives for their faith, should have deemed the Moslem, who had so often broken his word, more worthy of trust than the head of the Roman Church.

But it was a frightful mistake which the Bogomiles made, from their lack of faith, not in the Pope, but in Him, who rules over the nations, and does His will in heaven and earth. Let us see what have been the results which followed their surrender. The wholesale destruction and desolation which fell upon them, rendered scores of thousands of homes desolate. The wives and daughters were enslaved, or suffered a worse fate; the sons were placed among the Janissaries, and not suffered to return till they had become Mahometans; and under the ruler of cruel and fanatical Turkish Pashas or Beglerbegs, the widowed and childless remnant were compelled to pay tribute to the Turk, and even to profess the Moslem faith, or submit to every indignity. In the next generation these young Bosniacs, now strong and almost fanatical Mahometans, came back to claim their ancestral lands and titles, and thus there sprang up in Bosnia, a large body of Mahometans, not Turks, but of

Sclavonic and Servian race; and they still continue, side by side, with their Christian neighbors, but in many respects more fanatical in their adherence to the doctrines of Islam than the Turks themselves.

The Herzegovina was, not more than twenty years later, transformed in the same way. In the other provinces, of Turkey, the Mahometans are, with very rare exceptions, Turks; but in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, somewhat more than one-third of the population are Sclavonic Mahometans, while the Turks, except as rulers, form an insignificant fraction of the population. It should be said, however, that among the higher classes of the Bosnians, there are many who, in secret, have preserved many of their old Christian customs and observances, and it is very possible, that once removed from Turkish influences, their conversion to Christianity might not be long delayed. As this wholesale destruction fell most heavily on the Bogomiles, it might be, as it has been, supposed, that it resulted in their complete extinction, but there is a wonderful vitality in this sect, and among the thousands who were driven out of Bosnia, by the ferocity of the Turks in 1875, a large proportion were Bogomiles, according to the testimony of our countryman, W. J. Stillman, Esq.

If we consider the history of Bosnia, since the Turkish conquest, it is not difficult to trace the process by which, even in Bosnia proper, and the Herzegovina, the Eastern or Greek Church has risen to a dominant position. The Roman Catholics of Bosnia have at different times during the last three centuries, migrated in large numbers into Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, where they found shelter among their co-religionists, and it appears that the Greek population to the south and east, who had less temptation to cross the borders of Latin

Christendom, have largely colonized the country thus vacated. The Roman Catholic population who remained, their ecclesiastical organization broken up by these migrations, must, in many cases, have been absorbed in the congregation of the intrusive Serbs, and indeed, as has been already pointed out, the Roman Church in Illyria was to a great extent only Roman in its higher organization.

The extraordinary phenomenon that presents itself in the history of Bosnia under Turkish rule is, that till within the last few years, it has been simply the history of the feudal kingdom, under altered names and conditions. A Mahometan caste has tyrannized in place of a Popish—a Turkish Vizier has feebly represented the Suzerainty of the Osmanlì Grand Signior, just as of old we find Hungarian bans or kings representing the overlordship of a Magyar king. The survival of the feudal nobility has been perfect. The great Bosnian lords, now calling themselves Begs or Capetans, resided still in the feudal castles reared by their Christian ancestors; they kept their old escutcheons, their Sclavonic family names, their rolls and patents of nobility inherited from Christian kings; they led forth their retainers as of old under their baronial banners, and continued to indulge in the chivalrous pastime of hawking. The common people, on the other hand, have clung to their old Sclavonic institutions, their sworn brotherhoods, their village communities, their house-fathers, and have paid, and pay still, the same feudal dues to their Mahometan lords as they did to their Christian ancestors.

The Sclavonic Mahometans, as we have already said, were more fanatical than their co-religionists of the capital; and they even went so far as to denounce the Sultan, Mahmoud II. as the Giaour (Infidel) Sultan, on

account of his attempted reforms. In 1851, Omer Pasha finally succeeded in breaking the resistance of Mahometan feudalism in Bosnia, and re-subjugated the country for the Sultan. Since that date, the privileges of the native nobility have been greatly contracted, and Sclavonic Mussulman and Sclavonic Christian, alike, have bowed before a new Osmanlì administration.

At first this secured some advantages to the common people, but very soon they found themselves oppressed by a double system of extortion, the landholders, representing the old *régime* and the Turkish officials and middlemen the new. At the present time, there is one point on which the native Mahometans and Christians of Bosnia are both agreed, and that is, in abhorrence of the rule of the Turk. "Nor should it be overlooked," says Mr. Arthur J. Evans, a recent English traveler in Bosnia, "that two of the greatest evils that at present afflict Bosnia are intimately bound up with the continuance of Turkish rule. One is the use of the Osmanlì language in official documents and in the law-courts; the other is the direct contact into which Bosnia is brought with the corruption of Stamboul. It is impossible that the rayah should secure justice in the law-courts, or at the hands of the government officials and middlemen, when his case, or the contract into which he enters with the tax-farmers, must be drawn up in a language utterly unintelligible to him, and by the hands of those who are interested in perverting the instrument of the law, to injustice and extortion. It is impossible that the material resources of Bosnia, magnificent as they are, should be developed to the good of her civilization, while the enterprise of Europe has first to satisfy what is insatiable—the avarice of the Divan. The Bosniacs are still blessed with many of the virtues of a primitive people, and left

BOSNIAN RAYAH PAYING TRIBUTE.

to themselves might secure honesty and justice in their public officers. At present, the Bosnian *employés* must first learn the Osmanlì language, and imbibe the secrets of Osmanlì government, at the source and seminary of Turkish demoralization; and the alien bureaucracy which results, acts in Bosnia as a propaganda of corruption."

"Why not then sever a connection as malign as it is artificial? Why not divorce Stamboul from Bosnia, and erect an independent State under an European guarantee? The democratic genius of the people would suggest a Republic as the best form of government, but the divided state of the country would preclude such a government to begin with, and a Principality after the model of free Servia, might combine parliamentary government with the coherence of a monarchy."

That Bosnia is prepared for such a change, and that it would even rejoice to form a free and independent State in conjunction with Servia and Montenegro, Mr. Evans believes to be capable of easy demonstration. He regards Bosnia, with all its wealth and fertility, as now an element of weakness to Turkey, and believes that it would be a misfortune to the Ottoman Porte to attempt to hold it, especially after the intense bitterness which followed its recent attempt to put down insurrection there.

This insurrection was induced by the terrible oppressions and outrages of the tithe-farmers or tax-gatherers, mostly Fanariot Greeks, to whom the Turkish government had sold the right to collect the taxes, demanding of them a higher price than ever before, and thus rendering them more rapacious than ever. These tax-farmers were allowed by the Turkish authorities to resort to any measures of torture, even to impalement and murder of the unfortunate tillers of the soil, in order to wring from them the last farthing possible. This griev-

ance falls alike upon the Christians and Mahometan cultivators, and has not, of course, anything to do with their religious profession. But another, and equally grievous, wrong falls upon the Christian inhabitants of Bosnia alone. The Ottoman Porte, with an impudence which is really sublime, has insisted, for the last four centuries, upon its right to appoint the patriarch of the Greek Church at Constantinople—and has always taken good care that he should be a supple tool of theirs. Generally, he has been a Constantinopolitan or Fanariot Greek, one of a class, who, while professing Christianity, were always willing to prostitute their religion, and their co-religionists, to the service of the Sultan, and to perform any act of contemptible meanness, from which a decent Turk would shrink. These Patriarchs have put up the Episcopal and clerical offices of the Greek Church to the highest bidder, who was expected to remunerate himself by plundering his hapless charge to the utmost. Most of the clergy and hierarchy of this Church in Bosnia and the Herzegovina are Fanariot Greeks, who perform all the services in modern Greek, a language which their people cannot understand, and who are the most rapacious of all the vultures that prey upon the non-Mahometan inhabitants of the Turkish Empire. From the robberies of the tithe-farmer and the cruelties which he was disposed to inflict, there might possibly be some escape. The Bosnian, who was prepared to submit to torture and a moderate share of outrages, might, perhaps, succeed in preserving some part of his hard earnings from the greed of the collectors, but the Greek bishop sent there on purpose to rob him, and whose cormorant appetite will be satisfied with nothing less than an income of from $10,000 to $50,000 a year, proceeds deliberately to use all the means at his command—and they are many—to

extort, on every occasion, from his unhappy victim, every article of property he can turn into money. The funeral of the father cannot be attended till the last ox has been given up to the bishop or priest; the funeral of the mother requires the surrender of the last cow. For a service of blessing of a store or shop (and without this blessing no business will be allowed) in an unknown tongue, the celebrant being too drunk to be capable of speaking intelligibly if he understood the language, which he does not, there must be paid a tenth of the goods. The birth of a child offers an admirable opportunity for robbery, and a marriage festival another. The Turkish official and the tithe-farmer are both sworn friends of the bishop, for he certifies to each—from a Christian love of truth and justice, doubtless—that the wrongs which they are reported to have inflicted upon his Bosnian flock are merely imaginary, and that if any one has been wronged it is the honest, moral, merciful, and tolerant Osmanlì official, or the equally honest and merciful tithe-farmer.

The same cause which had produced the insurrection in Bosnia, existed in even a more aggravated form in the Herzegovina, and there also the people resisted the thieves. The Turkish government was represented in Bosnia and the Herzegovina by Dervish Pasha, one of its shrewdest and most capable generals and statesmen, and, as he found that the double insurrection was spreading more widely than was convenient or safe, while he gave his attention to its suppression, in which many and gross outrages were committed, and in some cases, undoubtedly were returned by the Sclavonic rayahs in kind, he suggested to the Turkish government to request that the representatives of the great powers would send a commission into the disturbed districts, and see for themselves

whether there was any occasion for insurrection. This wily manager had previously managed to have a commission of his own selection, consisting of the Turkish Mayor of Mostar and a Fanariot Greek, report to him that there were absolutely no grievances. The commission appointed by the Powers, consisted of several consuls and vice-consuls. They found grievances in abundance, and among others, these demands of the Herzegovinian leaders, the moderation of which, under the circumstances, does credit to the insurgents, and favorably impressed the commission. The demands were—

1st. That Christian girls and women should no longer be molested by the Turks.

2d. That their churches should no longer be desecrated, and that free exercise of their religion should be accorded them.

3d. That they should have equal rights with the Turks before the law.

4th. That they should be protected from the violence of the Zaptiehs.

5th. That the tithe-farmers should take no more than they were legally entitled to, and that they should take it at the proper time.

6th. That every house should pay in all only one ducat a year.

7th. That no forced labor, either personal or by horses, should be demanded by the government; but that labor, when needed, should be paid for, as was the case all over the world.

Dervish Pasha acknowledged the justice of these demands, and promised that he would do all in his power to satisfy them, but he required that the Christians should first lay down their arms; the rayahs expressed

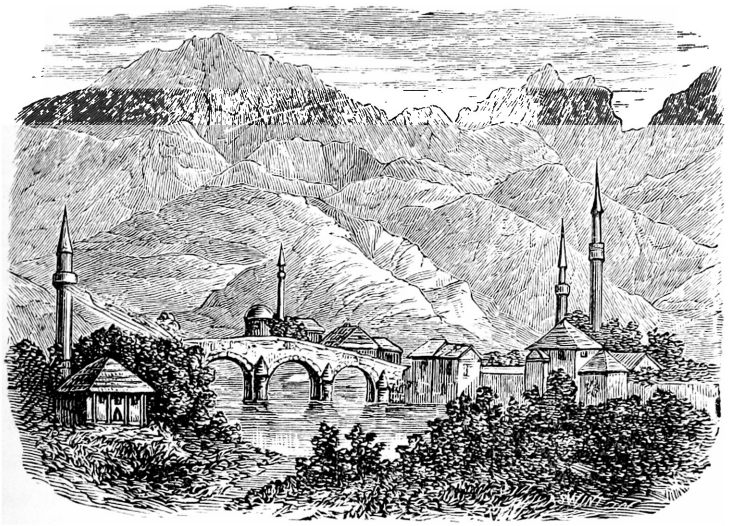
themselves willing to do this, if he would first find means to protect them from the armed Mahometan fanatics who surrounded them, and howled for their blood; but the Pasha could not, or would not do this, and the Christians again fled to the mountains. The commission found that the Christians had been so often deceived and so many of them butchered by the Turkish government, even while the most specious promises were on its lips, that they would not trust it, without European intervention to guarantee its reforms. The Ottoman Porte refused to assent to this demand, and the commission was declared a failure. Meantime the Bosnians and Herzegovinians had appealed to their Servian and Montenegrin brethren to help them, and not in vain, for both immediately commenced hostilities against the Turk. Another result of this investigation was the issuing of Count Andrassy's note, and the Berlin memorandum noticed elsewhere; and eventually from this insurrection, and that in Bulgaria, was developed the war now in progress.

Both Bosnia and Herzegovina abound in mountains; the latter seeming indeed, at first sight, to resemble nothing so much as our vague ideas of the chaos which preceded the Mosaic creation. Such a jumble of hills, mountains, peaks, ravines, and mountain torrents, can hardly be found elsewhere on the globe. Still these hill-slopes, ravines, and narrow valleys are, many of them, very fertile, and the abundant mineral wealth of the mountains is not surpassed in Europe, and only equalled in the Ural range. The capital of Bosnia—Serajevo—called in Serb, Bosna-Serai, *i. e.*, the Bosnian fortress, is a city of nearly 60,000 inhabitants, situated on a plain 1,800 feet above the sea, at the foot of a mountain range which culminates in the peak of Trebovič. It has some

fine buildings, but is specially remarkable for its hundred minarets, its magnificent gardens, which have given it the name of the Damascus of the North, and for being the chosen residence of the great Bosnian lords, the proudest, and perhaps the most ungentle, autocrats in all the East.

Bosnia and the Herzegovina had together a population of 1,216,846 in 1874, of whom 576,756 were Christians of the Greek Church; 185,503 Roman Catholics; 442,050 Bosnian (or Sclavonic) Mussulmans; a number not defined, Protestants, principally Bogomiles; 3,000 Jews, and from 5,000 to 8,000 gipsies. There are no accurate data for determining what proportion of these belong to the Herzegovina, but from the two provinces, nearly 100,000 refugees, including the women and children, fled in consequence of the insurrection of 1875–'6, and most of them are now on Austrian territory, in the province of Sclavonia, and have suffered terribly from hunger, and the lack of all the comforts of life. Two wealthy and benevolent English ladies, Miss Irby and Miss Johnston, have ministered to their necessities, and have procured considerable aid for them from England.

Mostar, the capital of the Herzegovina, is a beautiful town of great antiquity, dating back certainly to the Roman occupation of Illyria, in the first century after the Christian era. Its churches and mosques with their slender but beautiful minarets, give it an elegant appearance, which is not dissipated, as is the case in most oriental towns, by a nearer approach. The Romans had made this one of their permanent camps, and have left many traces of their architecture and civilization here. The most interesting of these, and that to which Mostar, even at the present day, owes much of its importance, is the magnificent bridge over the Narenta. It is a single



VIEW OF COINICA.

MOSTAR BRIDGE.

arch, 95 feet 3 inches in span (according to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's measurement), and rises 70 feet above the river when the water is low.

According to tradition, this was the work of the Emperor Trajan, whose engineering triumphs in Eastern Europe have taken a strong hold on the South Sclavonic imagination. Others refer its erection to Hadrian, and the Turks, not wishing to leave the credit of such an architectural masterpiece to infidel emperors, claim the whole for their Sultan, Soliman the Magnificent. He and other Turkish rulers have certainly greatly restored and altered the work, insomuch that Sir Gardiner Wilkinson declares, that none of the original Roman masonry has been left on the exterior, but he was none the less convinced of its Roman origin; and any one who has seen it will agree with Sir Gardiner, that the grandeur of the work and the form of the arch, as well as the tradition, attest its Roman origin.

The illustration of this bridge and its surroundings which we give, was drawn by Mr. Arthur J. Evans from the hillside near the bridge. It is worthy of notice that the name *Mostar* means in Servian, the old bridge, and this name pertained to the bridge and town at least two hundred years before the birth of Soliman. The town has now about 18,000 inhabitants.

The other view, that of Coinica, represents the famous town where Stephen Thomas granted to his boyars privileges, somewhat akin to those of Magna Charta.

The solution of the complex questions which have involved Eastern Europe in war, is greatly complicated by the position of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. The presence and influence of so large a body of Sclavonic Mahometans, may well serve to assure those who think

they have found a panacea for all these evils, in the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, that if he were to go at their behest, he would leave behind him (including a considerable number of Albanian Mahometans) a body of more than half a million of the most fanatical followers of Islam in the world. And though they might be in a minority, their zeal and fanaticism would largely make up for their inferior numbers. It is plain, that there can be no solution of the question which does not take these Bosniac Mussulmans into the account, and provide for their welfare, where they will not be able to work harm to others. Many of them are among the wealthiest and most influential of the Bosnian nobility, the descendants of those Bosnian youth who were trained as Janissaries.

CHAPTER X.

BULGARIA AND THE BULGARIAN CHURCH.

The Bulgarians are Sclavonians only in language and religion. Their language has in it some Finnish or Magyar, and some Turkish, elements, and is very far from being as pure Sclavic as the Servian or Bosnian speech. As a matter of fact, the Bulgarians are a conglomerate race, in which the Finnish or Ugrian stock is the basis, and Sclavonian, Turkish, and Magyar, and Greek, have commingled with it in varying proportions. Yet it is remarkable that they possess stronger instincts of nationality, and a more fervent attachment to their country and their institutions, than is manifested even by nations, so entirely homogeneous, as the Servians and Montenegrins.

The Bulgarians, it is now generally conceded by ethnologists, were a Finnish tribe, who migrated from the region of the Altai mountains, probably as early as the beginning of the Christian era, and settled on the banks of the river Volga, or between that river and the Tanais or Don, building a city called Bolgaris, from which they had their name, and where they remained till A. D. 559, when they fled from the Avars, a Tartar race who came in great numbers from Asia. They continued their flight till they reached the Danube, which was frozen over, it being mid-winter, and then crossed into Thrace. Here they found the Sclavonians who had recently come from Galicia and other parts north of the Danube, and an older

race, the Thracians, who were also probably Sclavonic. Mixing with these two races, and probably crowding them somewhat to the west, these Bulgarian Finns finally became so far commingled with the true Sclavonians, that they spoke their language, adopted most of their habits, and finally accepted their faith.

The Bulgarian, however, especially south of the Balkan (for north of these mountains he has become so thoroughly identified with the Servians and other Sclavonians, that he may fairly be reckoned a Sclavonian), retains the Finnish features, complexion, language and ways, to such an extent, that he is no more to be mistaken for a Sclave, than the Iberian Celt is for a Saxon.

But they grew in numbers and power till they occupied and ruled, in fact if not in name, the greater part of the present Turkey in Europe, though they never succeeded in taking Constantinople. For three centuries or more, their newly adopted country was one vast battlefield, on which Hungarians, Romans, Venetians, Genoese, Tartars, Normans, Germans, and Turks were constantly engaged in warfare, and the Bulgarians who had at first established their capital at the beautiful town of Lychnidus, the modern Ochrida, in the Albanian mountains, eventually were crowded to and over the Balkans, and compelled to make their capital at Tirnova, not far south of the Danube.

In the ninth century a Christian monk named Methodius, who had studied at one of the convents of Constantinople, and who was also a painter of no mean ability, was invited by the king of the Bulgarians, Bogaris, to his court, and was shown the battle pictures with which that king, himself an art connoisseur, had filled his galleries. The king asked the young monk if he could paint anything more terrible than he saw there.

Methodius replied that he could, and at once received an order to commence his picture. He chose for his subject "The Last Judgment," and when it was completed, he exhibited it to the king and preached to him, at the same time, a sermon on righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come. The king, who had previously been a pagan,—listened, trembled, believed, and requested baptism—and before the close of the year 853, through the zealous labors of Methodius and his brother Cyrillus, the whole Bulgarian nation was, at least nominally, converted to Christianity. They continued their labors among the other Sclavonians, invented the Sclavonic alphabet, and translated the Scriptures into the Sclavonian language.

With this conversion of the Bulgarians, began the history of the Bulgarian Church, which for a thousand years has exercised an important influence over the lives, social and political condition, and history of the Bulgarian people. This Church, though admitting the doctrine, discipline, and most of the usages of the Greek Church, was strictly independent, and under primates of its own; and though it was claimed, by turns, by the Eastern and Western Church, it only recognized their political authority, and even that only on special occasions. It retained this independency until after the overthrow of the Bulgarian kingdom, and its conquest by the Turks. During the five or six centuries which intervened between the conversion of the nation, and their subjugation by the Turks, education flourished, and the nation became again one of the leading powers of Europe. Among the sons of nobles, who were at this time educated at Constantinople, was a young monk of royal descent, named Simeon. He was ambitious and warlike, and aspired rather to an earthly than to the

heavenly crown. And so it came to pass, that in A. D. 888, the monk Simeon became king of Bulgaria, and immediately began to establish his power, by attacks upon the Greeks, who had maltreated Bulgarian merchants at Thessalonica. He was uniformly successful in wars with the Greeks. He ravaged the whole of Macedonia, and then advanced to the siege of Constantinople, and imposed conditions of peace upon the terrified Emperor. Next, he turned his arms northward and northwestward, and Bosnia and Servia fell under his sway. As the Czar or Emperor Simeon, his sway extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the Sea of Marmora. He died in A. D. 928, after a prosperous reign of forty years, leaving Bulgaria one of the leading nations of Europe, and in art, science, and religious influence, inferior to none. A system of telegraphy, invented by Leo, Bulgarian Archbishop of Salonica, the signals of which were a succession of fires at certain hours, which were indicated upon the dials of two clocks, one at Constantinople, the other at Tarsus, was one of the most remarkable scientific inventions of his reign. This was one of the forerunners of the electric telegraph which seems to have escaped notice.

The successors of Simeon were long engaged in war with the Emperor, and were not all so successful as the great Czar. Of one of them, King Samuel, it is said that he was defeated at the battle of Tetunium, by the Emperor Basil II., who captured 15,000 prisoners and put out the eyes of all, except one in a hundred, who was spared in order to conduct the blind men back to their own country. This so distressed King Samuel, that he fainted, fell unconscious, and died two days later.

The Bulgarians met with varied, but generally adverse

fortune, during the four hundred and fifty years which followed the Emperor Simeon's death. The Greek emperors made war upon them so long as they had the power to do so. Servian, Croat, and Magyar, each in turn, reduced portions of Bulgaria under their sway, and toward the last part of this period, the approach of the Turks, and their seizure of Adrianople, of Salonica, and Philippopolis; their progress over the Balkans; and their almost constant successes over Bulgarian princes, indicated what the end would be. Under the Serbian Czar, Stephen Dushan, and later, when the last Czar of Servia, the brave Lazar, called for all the Sclavonic race to come to his aid on the bloody field of Kossovo, the remnant of the Bulgarians, patriotic as ever, but depressed by their lack of success, rallied under the Serbian and Bosnian banners, and struck brave blows for liberty. The fight was not to be successful. The banners of Servia went down in blood. Bosnia survived for a time, and Bulgaria had seven years of prolonged wretchedness; but at the battle of Nicopolis, A. D. 1396, Bulgaria and her great allies, Hungary and France, saw the flower of their chivalry go down before Bajazet's reckless cavalry, led by Bayazid, and all hope of freedom for the Bulgarians passed away. There, as in Bosnia, the choicest of their youth were taken away to be brought up as Janissaries, and the remainder tortured, plundered, and oppressed, were to be regarded as Turkish subjects. Ample promises were made to those who would prove renegades to their faith, and become Mussulmans; but very few accepted the offer made to them, and those few found to their sorrow, that Turkish promises were made but to be broken. Later, a considerable number of the Bulgarian nobles, some of them probably belonging to the sect of Bogomiles, (for that sect had, at

least, one bishop in Bulgaria,) preferring, like their co-religionists of Bosnia, the arbitrary rule of the Turk to the tender mercies of the Pope or Patriarch, did become Mahometans. The youth, who had been brought up as Janissaries, returned afterward as Mahometans, and in Bulgaria, as in Bosnia, we find the anomaly of a Sclavonic or semi-Sclavonic race professing Mahometanism; but in Bulgaria the proportion of Sclavonic Mussulmans is not more than one-fourth, probably, of the Christians, and perhaps not so large a proportion as that.

But the Bulgarian Church has had a hard struggle, especially for the past hundred years, and it is to the treatment of that church, by the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, sustained as he has been by the Sultan, that most of the not infrequent revolutions and insurrections in Bulgaria, have been due. The policy pursued by the Turks toward Bulgaria and Bosnia, though a shrewd one on their part, was not adopted in the case of the Greeks. No effort was made to convert the youth of the Greek provinces to Mahometanism, by placing them in the ranks of the Janissaries, nor were any special inducements offered to the nobles or leading men of the Greeks, to abandon their faith and become Mussulmans. Various reasons have been assigned by their enemies for this departure from their ordinary methods, on the part of the Turks; one has been, that from the well-known shrewdness and craftiness of the Greeks, the Osmanlì feared, that if they became converts in any considerable numbers, they would gain the ascendancy over their conquerors, and thus destroy the Osmanlì power. Another, and more probable one was, that knowing the willingness of the Greeks to do anything, however disgraceful, which would bring them money and power, the Turks preferred to leave them nominally Christians,

and through them rule and control the other nationalities, who had manifested more conscientiousness and stubborn resistance to the Ottoman control. Certain it is, that the so-called Fanariot* Greeks have shown an alacrity in plunging, at the bidding of their masters, into the lowest depths of infamy, which fully justified the scornful declaration of one of the "Old Turkish" officers of the Porte some years ago: "Of all the Giaours, the Greeks are most completely the children of Gehenna."

From the day of the conquest of Bulgaria and Bosnia, the Patriarchs of the Greek Church in Constantinople have constantly demanded, that the Orthodox Greek Church in those countries should be put under their control; that they should have the right, without consulting the people at all, to send them bishops and priests, such as they chose, and to plunder the people as much as they wished. They enforced these demands by several very plausible arguments, such as these: that the Bulgarians being Greek in faith, ought to be under the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople; that the Sultan, being a Mussulman, could not readily understand what were the needs of these Christians, while the Patriarch could understand them perfectly, and being responsible to the Sultan for their good behavior, would be able to save the Sultan a great deal of trouble and perplexity.

It should be said to the credit of the Ottoman Porte, that it refused for a very long time to yield to these demands of the greedy Fanariot Greeks, whose motives it doubtless suspected. But the Greeks were not to be balked of their game. They began to give out very secretly, yet in such a way as to reach the ears of the Sultan, that the Bulgarians were rebellious, that a conspiracy was forming among them against the Porte, and

* From *Phanar* or *Funar*, the Greek quarter of Constantinople.

that the Sultan was in danger. Every kind of intrigue was attempted to give color to the suspicion, and the Porte commenced very strenuous measures of persecution of the Bulgarians. Having thus roused the jealousy of the Porte, the Greeks were in their element, and, after numberless schemes had been tried, they succeeded in 1767 in bribing Orsenius, the last Bulgarian Primate and Patriarch of Ochrida, to abdicate his primacy, retaining, however, his richest archbishopric or Eparchy. His abdication was a singular one. The following is the text:

"With this present voluntary resignation, I, subjoined, make known that because it is impossible for me to fulfill the duties and obligations of the patriarchate of Ochrida, inasmuch as we have been the means of bringing into contempt the name of patriarch, thereby bringing upon them (Christians), persecutions and heavy losses, and similar troubles upon the Christian subjects; and since in no way but by the abolition of the patriarchate can the flock of Christ be delivered from their taunts, therefore I give in my resignation, and free dismission from the seat of Ochrida; retaining, however, my former Eparchia of Pelagonia (Monastir), which I retain for myself during life, as a means of living and for my expenses. Signed,

"JANUARY, 1767. ORSENIUS DOLIS."

This transaction was so evidently venal, that the Bulgarian people, and the great body of the clergy, refused to recognize the act of abdication, or to be bound by it; but they soon found that the Ottoman Porte had yielded to the persuasions and demands of the Fanariot Greeks, and that resistance was in vain, and though protest might in the end prove of some service, at present they

must yield. Their bishops were thrust from their sees, their priests ejected from their churches, and the places of both filled with greedy and disreputable Greeks. The service was conducted in modern Greek, which the Bulgarians generally did not understand; their monasteries and schools were seized, and the revenues appropriated by the Greek communities, and the Bulgarian language and literature was prohibited in all the educational institutions, and Greek put in its place. To resist this cruel wrong, was to provoke the strong arm of the military power to suppress rebellion, and to make true the slanders of their Greek foes. A nation loosely aggregated, and without the cohesive power of a marked and distinctive national character, would, under such circumstances, have dashed itself to pieces in its restlessness under such a bondage; but the Bulgarians proved themselves fit to be a nation, by their admirable conduct under these trying circumstances. They patiently and persistently retained their nationality; refused to be swamped by the influx of modern Greeks, and by a passive resistance constantly maintained, and action whenever the pressure was even partially and temporarily lifted, succeeded in so controlling their people, that they were ready for religious freedom. when the moment came for it.

Meantime the Greek patriarch, in Bulgaria as in Bosnia, was selling the sacred offices to the highest bidder, and putting such depraved wretches into them, men who would extort the last piaster from the husbandman's widow, or take the bread from the mouths of his orphan children, that the people had become thoroughly disgusted. They still preserved, however, the forms of law; they appealed to the Greek patriarch against the abuses of his bishop and clergy, and were only answered with male-

diction and severe rebuke. They next appealed to the Porte, which in turn, consulted the Greek patriarch, and a persecution commenced. Then the wealthy and noble class of Bulgarians, which in this alone of all the Sclavic States manifested its sympathy with the poor, commenced, very quietly, measures for the establishment of schools and churches in which the Bulgarian vernacular and the Bulgarian literature and ritual should be introduced and taught.

They procured from abroad the printing of Bulgarian text-books, and landed them in Bulgaria before the Greeks suspected what they were doing. On hearing that Bulgarian bibles and other books were actually circulating in the country, the Greek patriarch hastened to the Porte and obtained an order for their confiscation, artfully representing that these works, being in the Sclavic language, were proofs of the sympathy of the Bulgarians for Russia, and that their circulation was but the first act of rebellion. But before the order of confiscation could reach them, most of the books had been distributed, and the effort on the part of the Greeks to prevent the people from educating their children in their own much-loved tongue, raised such a spirit of indignation among the whole people, that the leaders stepped boldly forward, and demanded as their right, to be allowed to educate their children in the vernacular. Subscriptions were raised in all the district towns, and teachers were at first imported from Russia and Austria. The movement was denounced by the Greek patriarch, and every device and intrigue he could command was used to crush it; but the funds which had been raised, removed the opposition of the Ottoman authorities, and permission was obtained to establish schools, distinct from those of the Greeks, in Philippopolis, and some of the

other district towns in 1850. From this time dates the revival of popular education among the Bulgarians. After the Crimean war it spread with amazing rapidity, and the national development went on with great energy. From 90,000 to 100,000 children of Christian Bulgarians were gathered into these vernacular schools, at the beginning of 1876. Teachers were provided from the local training schools, and the schools established by American missionaries.

Up to the year 1860, the school funds were derived from voluntary subscriptions, and from funds bequeathed by charitable persons; but this proving, for various reasons, unsatisfactory, the Bulgarians now ventured upon an important change; those of the Sandjak or district of Philippopolis, as usual, leading the way. They renounced their allegiance to the supremacy of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople, and followed up this bold step, by appropriating the ecclesiastical domains, tenements, and revenues of the diocese, and immediately employed a part of these funds for educational purposes. Other districts followed the lead, and the whole was done under an excellent and orderly organization, consisting of clerical and lay members, elected annually. These commissions were made responsible to the community at large, for their honest distribution of these funds, for the supervision and promotion of public instruction. By the most careful and skillful management, the passive sanction of the Porte was gained for all these changes, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the Greeks. The aid afforded by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, by the earnest labors of the American missionaries in Bulgaria, and by the Robert College at Constantinople, were of great service in bringing about these gratifying results.

Other schools have been attempted by the Jesuits by some of the continental missionary societies, and by a sect known in Bulgaria as Paulicians, who seem to be the lineal descendants of our old friends, the Bogomiles.

Matters were now ripe for another step, the revival of the Bulgarian National Church. This was effected in 1870, about one hundred years after it was overthrown by the intrigues of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. Step by step, the difficulties in the way of a consummation so much to be desired were removed, and the firman of the Sultan commanding the reorganization was issued on the 20th of February, 1870, and followed by a general letter from the Holy Bulgarian Synod, congratulating the people on this change, on the 3d of March following, and soon after by a spiritual circular letter from the same source.* The Bulgarian Church is far from being a pure one, but it has learned much in its century of persecution, and at least has the advantage of promoting education in the vernacular tongue, of circulating the Scriptures in that tongue, and conducting its services in it, and its clergy are men of purer lives, and of less extortionate habits, than the Fanariot Greeks who preceded them.

There can be no question that for many years past ambitious Russian adventurers, in many instances not without some sanction, expressed or implied, from the Rusian government itself, have been engaged at frequent intervals, in endeavoring to stir up insurrection in Bulgaria. At times, their efforts have been regarded with distrust, for Bulgaria had learned by some bitter experiences in the past, that the Russian eagle was as truly a bird of prey—selfish, greedy, and destructive—as the

* Col. Baker gives the text of these three documents in his recent work on Turkey.

Turkish vulture. In 1828–9 she had some severe lessons of this sort. The Bulgarian educational movement did not meet the approval of Russia; it bid fair to put the Bulgarian Sclavonians out of her reach. In 1867, the Pan-Sclavonic committee of Moscow, and its very efficient branch, the secret committee at Bucharest, acting certainly without opposition from the Russian government, undertook to excite an insurrection among the Bulgarians, in connection with the Croatain insurrection. One object of this insurrection was to obtain plunder, a large part of the foreigners engaged in it, being Russian and Roumanian adventurers and ruffians; another was to excite the alarm of Turkey, and weaken her force in Crete; and a third, to break down the movement for the rehabilitation of the National Bulgarian Church. The attempts of the insurgents proved a complete failure. The great body of the Bulgarians, having other objects in view, looked upon the whole movement with distrust, and they turned against the adventurers and hunted them down. Midhat Pasha, then Vali or Governor of the Danubian frontier of Bulgaria, made short work with the insurgents, who were too much frightened to stay in the province.

In 1876, there was, as we shall see from Mr. Schuyler's narrative, as well as from the statements of those who were on the spot, a very different state of things. There had been in the last years of Abd-ul Aziz's reign, a constantly increasing tide of oppression and corruption; the Bulgarian rayah, like his brother in Bosnia, was ground down to the dust by the tax-farmers; an eighth always, oftener a sixth or a third of his entire crop was taken by these rapacious thieves, and no portion could be harvested till the tax-farmer's interests were secured. But worse than this, was the quartering of Turkish troops

upon the rayahs and land-holders, and the outrages against female virtue which had become the rule rather than the exception. There were also other evils, which had been growing for years, till they had come to be past endurance. The Turks had been transplanting Circassians (Mahometans of the most fanatical stripe, and who had real or fancied wrongs, received from the Russians, to revenge) into Bulgaria, and had colonized them on Bulgarian lands north of the Balkans, with liberty to take and hold whatever they could. These savage mountain tribes plundered the Bulgarian rayahs, and if resisted, killed them without hesitation, and there was no redress. Any complaint against the Circassians was punished by summary banishment. The Christian population were not allowed to bear arms, or to have any in their possession, but all Mahometans, including these savage Circassians, were liberally provided with the most approved weapons. The Circassians, as well as the Tartars from the Crimea, who had also been encouraged to migrate into Bulgaria, were allowed to compel the Bulgarians to build houses and provide food for them without pay.

There had been, indeed, but one improvement in their condition since 1867, though that was one of great importance—they had their own priests and bishops, instead of those sent by the Greek Patriarch; and although there were necessarily heavy expenses connected with the re-establishment of the Bulgarian National Church, they were no longer robbed by Greek vagabonds and thieves, in the name of religion. The Bulgarian priests are, as a class, very far from being perfect, but they are a great improvement on their predecessors.

The Bucharest committee were at work, it was true, and their cause was assisted by the outrages which had already occurred in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which

had created almost a panic among the Bulgarians. Still, had there been in command of the Danubian or the Southern province, a man of Midhat Pasha's clear head and quick perception, the insurrection might have been put down by regular soldiers, with very little bloodshed and no outrages; but the Turks acted from panic as much as the Bulgarians, and panic, unrestrained by principle, is always cruel, blood-thirsty, and ferocious. The result which followed, is forcibly told in Mr. Schuyler's narrative.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ATROCIOUS OUTRAGES AND MASSACRES IN BULGARIA.

Previous to May, 1876, although the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina already described, the generally restless feeling in Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania, independent and tributary States, had intensified the excitement in regard to the farming of the taxes, and other measures of oppression in Bulgaria, and to some extent, in the adjacent provinces, there had been little in the conduct of the Turkish government to call for active remonstrance on the part of the other powers of Europe. The administration of government was tyrannous and oppressive, but so it had been for many years; the system of collecting the taxes was the worst known, but it was thoroughly Oriental, and the people submitted to it, not without grumbling, indeed, but as an evil which it was better to bear than to resist.

There were strong indications that some secret societies of Russian origin, but having their headquarters at Bucharest and Belgrade, and certainly not discountenanced by the Russian government, were operating upon the younger citizens of Bosnia, Bulgaria, Herzegovina, and to some extent upon Albania, to rouse them to resistance to the tax-gatherers; but these efforts had been made before, and with no serious result.

When the ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, Russia, and subsequently Great Britain, joined on the 31st of January, 1876, in presenting to the Ottoman government Count Andrassy's (Premier of Austria-Hungary) note relative to reforms in the administration of

the Turkish empire, it was not so much that the evils of which they complained had attained an unusual magnitude, as that, under existing circumstances, the Porte might be more amenable to the influences which would lead to some improvement in its administration. This note was courteously received, and, as usual, "the Sublime Porte" made abundant promises of establishing all kinds of reforms—promises, which it is hardly necessary to say it had little power, and probably no intention, to fulfill.

But while these promises might have pacified the demands of the powers, there were new complications in progress which were destined to shake the Turkish empire from its topmost stone to its foundations, and to produce the most intense excitement over the whole of Europe. Even the mild note of Count Andrassy had roused the hostility of the fanatical Turks of Constantinople, and of some of the provinces where the Mahometans were the ruling party, and they were beginning to threaten the Sultan and the Porte, and to demand that the old practices of the Osmanlis should be revived, and the giaours [infidels] and Christian dogs should no longer be allowed any influence or authority in the government. The Softas, a class of turbulent and fanatical Mussulmans in the capital, raised the religious cry, and invoked death and destruction on the Christians.

While the weak and half-imbecile Abd-ul Aziz was trembling at their outcries, and fearing the loss of his crown, which was so soon to befall him, the Bulgarians, the larger portion of whom were nominally Christian, and whose progress in intelligence, education, and prosperity had been the wonder and envy of all the other provinces of Turkey, for more than ten years, were beginning to feel the impulse of the insurrection in Bosnia,

and, prompted by the unwise counsels of the revolutionary committee in Bucharest, they began, in several villages, to rise against the tax-gatherers, and arm themselves for a struggle to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. They sent their demands, which were not extravagant, to the Sultan; but obtaining no redress, they began to arrest the tax-gatherers, who resisted, and in a few instances were slain in the armed conflict.

The insurrection was not formidable, and could easily have been put down by two or three battalions of soldiers at the utmost; but the Turkish ministers, by way of showing their zeal, commissioned a Turkish officer, well known for his cruelty and brutality, to take a large force of Bashi-bazouks, the irregular troops of whom we have elsewhere spoken (see page 432), and notoriously the vilest and most depraved ruffians to be found in Turkey, to go to the Bulgarian villages and put down the insurrection. With what horrible outrages of murder, lust, and rapine they accomplished their demoniacal work, let the report of Mr. Eugene Schuyler, American Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, who visited the ruined villages in July and August, 1876, tell us. We subjoin Mr. Schuyler's report, which has not as yet been published in full, except by our Government:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
CONSTANTINOPLE, November 20, 1876.

SIR:—Leaving Constantinople on the 23d day of July, I remained one day at Adrianople, and then proceeded immediately to Philippopolis, the center of the disturbed district in Bulgaria. After visiting many of the villages in the district of Philippopolis and of Tatar Bazardjik, I went to the districts of Yamboli and Slivno, then, crossing the Balkans, I visited the districts of Yirnovo, Gabrovo, and Selvi, and returned to Adria-

nople by the way of Shipka, Kazanlyk, Eski-Zagra, and Tchirpan, arriving at Constantinople on the 29th of August.

In going from village to village I always had an escort of two Zaptiehs,* that being the smallest number which the authorities would allow me to take. They usually offered me six or ten, and would not permit me to travel without Zaptiehs, on the ground that they were responsible for my safety, as well as that politeness compelled them to escort me. The Zaptiehs were useful for showing the road, but they were of slight value for purposes of protection, as they would probably have run away at the first approach of danger.

While paying all proper respect to the authorities, and being careful to fulfill the necessary formalities of visits, I avoided staying in Turkish houses, as I would thus have been prevented from having free access to the Bulgarians. I also refused to allow a guard to be placed at the houses where I staid.

I had as an interpréter an educated young Bulgarian, Mr. Peter Dimitroff, who, besides his own language, understood English and Turkish perfectly. I knew sufficient Bulgarian to be able to follow the conversations and to be able to control what he translated to me. Besides this I had, for the most of my journey, one and sometimes two, other persons who thoroughly understood Turkish and Greek—one an Armenian, the other a Greek.

There were frequently great difficulties in obtaining exact information, arising partly from the action of the authorities, partly from timidity of the Bulgarians, and partly from the nature of the facts into which I was inquiring. I have had recourse to official documents, to statements made by Turks, officials as well as non-officials; by Greeks, who are usually somewhat prejudiced against the Bulgarians; by Armenians and Jews, the most disinterested of all; by Bulgarian Catholics and orthodox Bulgarians of all classes, as also to information given to me by foreigners. Naturally much of what I shall state rests on the authority of Bulgarians, who were often the only persons able or willing to tell what had happened. I have endeavored by strict questioning, cross-examination, and comparison of statements to arrive as

* *Zaptiehs*, policemen.

near as possible at the exact truth, but I am sensible that at times subsequent information may show some inaccuracies. As a general rule I have thought it needless to give the processes by which I have arrived at my facts; and as I set out with no intentions either of proving or of disproving any assertions or statement, I shall relate merely what I believe to have occurred.

PREVIOUS MOVEMENTS AND DISAFFECTION IN BULGARIA.

The condition of the Christian subjects in Turkey so appealed to the sentiments and the ideas of justice of the great powers during the Crimean war, that in 1856 the Sultan Abdul Medjid was induced solemnly to confirm the privileges and the reforms which he and his predecessors had granted, but which had never been carried out, and to grant some new ones by the Hatti Humayoum* of that year, reference to which was made in the treaty of Paris. The delays, however, in carrying out the reforms granted and confirmed by the decree, the unequal taxes and the irregularities in collecting them, the continued refusal to accept Christian evidence when offered against Mussulmans in civil courts, the maintenance of the Christian in an illegally inferior position to that of the Mussulmans, the constant vexations and exactions of government officials, and the almost daily acts of murder and violence committed by the Mussulman population, excited the feelings of the Bulgarians to such an extent that in 1862 they revolted against the authority of the Porte. This rebellion was a very feeble one, and was speedily put down. Another broke out in 1867, in the province of the Danube, which was at once suppressed by the energetic action of Midhat Pasha, then the vali † of that province. Nine or ten of the rebels were executed and fifty-four were sentenced to transportation to Diarbekir, or to imprisonment with hard labor. Many young men, fearing to be compromised by the revelations extorted by torture, took refuge in Bucharest, and, not disheartened by the failure of that attempt, continued in active co-operation with the Servians in preparations for a new

* *Hatti Humayoum*, an imperial decree granting certain reforms.

† *Vali*, the governor or chief ruler of a province.

rebellion. The assassination of Prince Michael, of Servia, on the 8th of June, 1868, disturbed their plans; but in spite of the withdrawal of Servia from the undertaking in consequence of the change of government, the young Bulgarians refused to abandon their idea, and in June, 1868, a band of one hundred and fifty well-armed and well-disciplined men, called "The Bulgarian Legion," crossed the Danube at Vardim, near Sistova. Although this was the shortest road to the Balkans, yet it lay through a province almost entirely inhabited by Circassians and Turks. Midhat Pasha again took energetic measures; "The Legion" was obliged to take refuge in the defiles of the mountains south of Gabrovo, and was destroyed to a man. In spite of the foolhardiness and of the want of forethought that characterized this attempt, Turks, as well as Bulgarians, give honor to the bravery and the courage of "The Legion."

Meanwhile the struggle for the independence of the Bulgarian Church, and for freedom from the tyranny of the Greek patriarch and bishops was going on, and the system of national education—in great measure owing to the active exertions of Americans—was making good progress.

At last, in 1870—in spite of the influence which the Fanar had brought to bear at the Porte, and of the efforts of Midhat Pasha and other leading Turks, who foresaw the result, and who tried to develop a tendency to unite with the Catholics rather than to become independent—a firman* was granted re-establishing the independent Bulgarian Church. The natural and inevitable consequences of religious independence, of the higher education of the people, and of the liberal ideas which those young men were receiving who were sent to study abroad in Russia, Germany, and France, as well as those educated in the American schools and the higher establishments at Constantinople, was to create a far greater national feeling than had previously existed. People who before that time had spoken Greek, no longer denied their nationality, and acknowledged themselves with pride to be Bulgarians.

With the exception, however, of a slight rebellion at Sophia in 1873, which was at once suppressed, and for which one young priest was hanged, and sixty persons exiled to Diarbekir, no real

* *Firman*, an imperial order having the Sultan's sign manual at the top.

agitation was carried on in the country, and no attempt was made by the Bulgarians to take up arms to secure their rights. Even in spite of the exactions of the Turkish officials, the Bulgarians, owing to their energy, industry, and intelligence, were prosperous. The Bulgarian population was growing rich while the Turks were growing poor. This was especially noticeable in those villages which contained a mixed population. The oppression, however, of the Turkish authorities did not diminish, and the daily vexations suffered from them, as well as from the Mussulman population, were sufficient to inflame the minds of young men of any natural spirit, or who had ever been in a country, which was ruled with the slightest regard for law or humanity.

THE ESKI-ZAGRA AFFAIR.

The impossibility of obtaining redress, and indeed, in many cases, of bringing their troubles to the notice of the central government, finally brought the young Bulgarians last year to resolve on an armed demonstration which should gain for their wrongs the attention not only of the central government, but of the great powers of Europe. This movement was organized by the Bulgarian committee at Bucharest, where a number of exiles—some professed revolutionists—had taken refuge during preceding years, and had devoted themselves for some time to the task of stirring up discontent and fomenting insurrection in their own country. The various members of this committee secretly crossed the Danube and took charge of the rising, forming committees in all of the larger towns and villages. The head-quarters of this movement were at Tirnovo. Although the revolutionary leaders succeeded thus in forming a kind of organization, the people were without arms, and unaccustomed to their use. I have been assured by persons connected with this movement that there was not the slightest idea of making any real opposition to the Turks; but it was thought that if the inhabitants of the towns and villages collected in the mountains they would thus make a sufficiently formal demonstration to compel the Porte to pay some attention to their demands. These demands were, briefly:

1. That the country should be governed by Christian instead of Turkish officials.

2. That the Bulgarian language should be recognized as official, or at least that all documents in Turkish should be accompanied by a Bulgarian translation.

3. That there should be a reform in the method of taxation and of collecting the taxes, which would put an end to the abuses from which the Christian population now suffer.

4. That the Christians should be allowed to enter the military service upon the same terms as Mussulmans. Most of these demands have been included in substance in the various reforms which have so often been given to the Christian populations of Turkey, in the Hatti Sheriff* of Gul Khané, and the Hatti Humayoum. After this movement had been organized, and the day for the execution of the plan had been fixed, the chiefs resolved to defer it. Letters were accordingly written from Tirnovo to all the sub-districts postponing for some time the intended rising. Unfortunately, the letter intended for the committee of Eski-Zagra, on which depended Tchirpan, Haskeni, and some other towns, miscarried.

Accordingly on the 29th of September, 1875, twenty-one young men from Eski-Zagra, and eighty peasants from the surrounding villages, armed, some with old muskets and others with sticks and clubs, went toward the Balkans. Information having been given to the authorities, by some one who was cognizant of the plot, a force was sent after them and overtook them in the village of Yassy-Veran, in the district of Kazanlyk, where all were either captured or dispersed, with the exception of three or four who were killed, two of whom were burned in a straw hut. Arrests immediately began, and continued for a month, at the end of which time 415 individuals from the districts of Tchirpan, Eski-Zagra, and Haskeni were put in prison. By the use of persuasions, threats, and tortures, some of the prisoners, especially two village schoolmasters, were made to accuse some of the Bulgarian notables. Many more innocent people would probably have been arrested had not the vali † of Adrianople, Hurshid Pasha, issued orders not to give the affair too much importance. Some days af-

* *Hatti Sheriff*, an imperial decree or ordinance. † *Vali*, governor.

terward Tassum Pasha, the mutessarif* of Philippopolis, appointed a commission of five Turks and five Bulgarians to examine the prisoners. This pasha was not unwilling to turn the matter to his personal profit, and through his agent, Jakovaki, a Greek from Philippopolis, he began to extort money from the prisoners as a condition of their release. One man, who had been accused of selling arms to the insurgents, was obliged to pay seventy Turkish pounds,† and another ten Turkish pounds. At this time, however, both Hurshid Pasha and Tassum Pasha were removed, and in their places Omer Fevzi Pasha, the present minister of police, was appointed vali of Adrianople, and Aziz Pasha mutessarif of Philippopolis, while Selim Effendi and Georgaki Effendi were sent on a special mission from Constantinople to investigate the matter, which they did by means of a commission composed of two Turks and two Bulgarians from Adrianople, Philippopolis, and Kazanlyk, severally.

Difficulties and delays were caused by disputes between Selim Effendi and Seid Aga, of Tchirpan, a relative of Abdul Kerim Pasha, who greatly tyrannizes over both Christians and Turks in Tchirpan, and has long been guilty of many nefarious practices. Each accused the other of extorting money from the prisoners. After three months' sitting, this commission sent 75 persons to the prisons at Adrianople to await their final trial, while about 100 remained still without examination in Eski-Zagra. The rest were released. The 100 men left at Eski-Zagra were gradually released in consequence of orders from Philippopolis. Of those sent to Adrianople seven were hanged and ten released, while the remaining fifty-three continued in prison without trial until very recently.

THE INSURRECTION OF MAY, 1876.—PLANS AND OUTBREAK.

In consequence of the premature explosion at Eski-Zagra, the plan of an insurrection was abandoned for the winter, and the agents of the Bucharest committee returned to Roumania. It was resolved to see what could be done by petitioning the Sublime Porte. During the winter, therefore, the authorities at

* *Mutessarif*, mayor or burgomaster. † The Turkish pound = $4.34.

Constantinople received numerous signed petitions from every part of Bulgaria, all of which demanded the privilege of serving in the army and the abolition of the military exemption-tax.

This idea was one to which Midhat Pasha was violently opposed, and orders were therefore given to the newspapers not to publish any such petitions, or even to state the fact that they had been sent or received.

The agents of the Bucharest committee, who came to Bulgaria during the winter, thought that nothing could be done by petitions, and came to the erroneous conclusion that the country was ready for an insurrection. On reporting this at Bucharest, twenty-five new agents were sent, who crossed the Danube on the 12th of March, and who each took charge of preparing and organizing a district.

The most prominent of these was a young man from Koprivtchitsa (Avrat-Alan), where he went under the assumed name of George Benkofsky, who was practically the leader of the movement. Others were Vankof and Economof, both originally from Rustchuk.

In Macedonia, on account of the difficulties with the Greeks, no attempt was made at organization, except at Raslug; but throughout nearly the whole of the districts of Philippopolis and Slivno, and in part of that of Sophia, committees were appointed in each town and village to stir up the inhabitants, to collect arms, and to raise money. In all about £1,450 = $7,250 was collected. Nine hundred pounds of this sum were sent to Constantinople, to merchants who had done like work on previous occasions, and who were to send arms by railway to Yeni-Zagra. These merchants, however, replied that, on account of measures taken to prevent the shipment of arms by railway, it was impossible to send any. The rest of the money was sent to Bucharest for the purpose of buying what old arms could be picked up, and it was expected that six thousand muskets could be brought into Bulgaria from that quarter. In point of fact, none were ever received.

Believing that their preparations were sufficiently advanced, the rising was fixed for the 30th of April, but in consequence of want of harmony between the districts, and partly, also, because there

seemed no probability of an immediate declaration of war by Servia, at a meeting of some of the leaders and members of the committee, held at Panagurishta (Otluk Keni), on the 31st of March, the rising was postponed until after the middle of May. A new meeting was called at the village of Metchka, near Panagurishta, for the 30th of April, and word was sent to Bucharest that the rising was postponed. At the meeting at Metchka, where there were present about one hundred and twenty delegates from the different districts, it became evident that the plan had been betrayed to the government, and that a movement was going on among the Turks which would prevent its success. Instead, however, of disbanding, and of postponing any attempt at insurrection until the people were armed and were all informed of the day on which the rising was to take place—for the district of Slivno was not at that time in direct agreement with that of Tatar Bazardjik—Benkofsky and the other chiefs were so foolhardy as to decide upon beginning at once. Apparently they persuaded the villagers to this movement, in part, by making them believe that all they would have to do would be to defend their villages for a few days, at the end of which time Servian, and even Russian troops would advance to their assistance. Nothing indeed could be more foolish than the plan which the insurgents proposed. Instead of collecting a band of well-armed and well-mounted men, riding over the country burning the railway bridges, cutting the telegraph wires, and destroying the communications of the Turkish forces, which would have given them time to unite all the districts, and might have caused great difficulties to the Turkish government, especially in view of the approaching complications with Servia, they limited themselves to throwing up intrenchments at a few villages, to burning the railway station at Bellova, and, if we may believe the Turkish statement, to attempting to set fire to Philippopolis. The stupidity both of this plan and of its execution would almost seem to prove the statement made to me by some of the insurgents, that they had really no intention of attempting to gain anything by force of arms, but were desirous only of making such an armed demonstration as would draw the attention of the goverment to their demands. They had no idea of the cruel manner in which the insurrection would be suppressed, for in previous attempts of

this sort, the government had limited itself to the capture or dispersion of the armed bands, and the punishment of the ring-leaders.

The alleged plan of the insurgents, which was, it is stated, captured on one of the leaders, who was killed in the mountains near Sophia, and which was published in the report of the tribunal at Philippopolis, is of too doubtful origin, and contains too many absurdities to be looked upon as an authentic document.*

The day after the meeting at Metchka, the 1st of May, the insurgent leaders took possession of the villages of Klissura, Koprivtchitsta, Panagurishta, and Bellova, disarmed, and in some cases killed the Turkish officials, threw up intrenchments, and waited for the attack.

The same day the mutessarif of Philippopolis, Aziz Pasha, was informed of the meeting at Metchka, and of the probabilities of trouble. He therefore went at once by railway to Tatar Bazardjik, after telegraphing to Constantinople for regular troops. Having collected what troops he had—some were sent on from Eski-Zagra and Adrianople—he went to Panagurishta, but at the village of Kaloyerovo he met some frightened Turks who advised him to retire, as they said the whole country was rising, and more than 3,000 insurgents were under arms. He held a council, and decided to return. The Turks, however, who had given the information, reached Tatar Bazardjik before the pasha, and caused there a great panic by telling the inhabitants of the insurrection, and calling out to them, "Save yourselves and your families; the Russians are near." This was on Sunday, a market-day, and it is said that fully five thousand peasants from the neighboring villages had come to the town for the market. These peasants were as frightened as the Turks, and abandoning everything ran home to save their families. The panic is said to have been so great that Turks even ran away naked from the baths.

* I was shown by the authorities of Philippopolis a Turkish copy of this plan, said to have been translated from the original Bulgarian, which Selim Effendi told me had been taken to Sophia. I was afterward furnished with a French translation, which was practically the same as that which was published. It is in the nature of a catechism, and was apparently made up by some Turkish official. It was used as the basis for obtaining evidence during the trials.

In view of the prevailing anxiety the railway officials telegraphed to know how to act in order to save the railway property. They were told to submit, but to remain at their posts.

MEASURES TAKEN BY AUTHORITIES.—ARMING OF BASHI-BAZOUKS.

At Philippopolis, during the absence of the mutessarif, there was also a panic accompanied by great disorder. Aziz Pasha, who is a Bosniac, was not liked by the Turkish population. He had filled several situations with credit to himself, had been governor of Widdin, and commander-in-chief of the troops which had put down the rebels in 1867. At Philippopolis he had been a good governor, and had incurred the displeasure of the Turks by being, as they thought, too favorable to the Christians. Attempts had been made long before to have him removed, and his authority was secretly undermined. Many weeks before the outbreak of the insurrection, owing to the discontented state of the Bulgarian population, he had written and telegraphed to Constantinople the state of affairs, and had demanded regular troops to prevent an outbreak. These were not given to him, and when the insurrection finally broke out, and he went to Tatar Bazardjik, his telegrams, both to Akif Pasha, the vali of Adrianople, and to the grand vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, remained without attention. During his absence in Tatar Bazardjik the leading Turks of Philippopolis, under the guidance of the influential beys,* quietly armed the Turkish population, alleging as an excuse that some of the prisoners confined in the konak † had endeavored to escape. They also telegraphed to Akif Pasha, at Adrianople, to be allowed to raise companies of bashi-bazouks.‡ Akif Pasha replied, giving the permission, and sending one Rashid Pasha, formerly governor of Draina, and then living at Adrianople, to command them, promising also to supply them with arms. The population of Adrianople was at the same time armed, through the influence of the beys.

Aziz Pasha found on his return that he was practically power-

* *Bey*, an army officer, usually a lieutenant-colonel. It is also used for other officers of high rank.

† *Konak*, town-house. ‡ *Bashi-bazouks*, irregular cavalry—great villains.

MIDHAT PASHA,
Late Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Porte.

HUSSEIN AVNI PASHA,
Turkish Minister of War assassinated by Hassan Bey,
June 15, 1876.

less. The Greek vice-consul, Mr. Matalas, who seemed well informed of what was going on, remonstrated with him about the formation of companies of bashi-bazouks and the indiscriminate arming of the Mussulman population. Aziz Pasha replied that he himself strongly disapproved of the measure, but could do nothing, owing to the suspicions entertained of him, for the local Turks accused him of sympathizing with the Bulgarians. Aziz Pasha remained nominally mutessarif for a few days, and was then replaced by Abdul Hamid Pasha (the brother of Chefket Pasha).

The vali of Adrianople, Akif Pasha, who acted with the full knowledge, if not under the orders, of Midhat Pasha and Hassan Avni Pasha, and who is mainly responsible for the arming of the bashi-bazouks, endeavored subsequently to excuse himself on the ground that there were no troops in the country; that Mahmoud Pasha, the grand vizier, refused to send troops, and that the arming of the Mussulman population was therefore a matter of urgent necessity. This, however, is not entirely true, for, among other evidence to the contrary, we know that the troops which were then at Eski-Zagra and Tchirpan, were immediately sent to the locality of the insurrection. Further, we learn from the *Levant Herald* of the 5th of May, that on the 4th of the same month a battalion of the line, 800 strong, was sent from Constantinople, and that four companies more were dispatched the next day. The same paper of the 9th May states that a special train left Adrianople on the 4th for Tatar Bazardjik with a detachment of 300 redifs; * that a train with troops left Constantinople on the 6th, and that on the 8th 400 cases of muskets and 2,200 cases of ammunition were sent from Constantinople to Adrianople and Tatar Bazardjik. These arms were probably intended for the bashi-bazouks, who, apparently, were not then thoroughly organized. The *Levant Herald* of the 11th of May states that on the 8th of May five companies of bashi-bazouks, which had been organized by the authorities at Haskeni, went to Philippopolis, and adds, "Some excesses are said to have been committed by them on the way." †

* *Redifs*, reserve troops.

† The same newspaper gives details with regard to the outrages of the bashi-bazouks, especially of their having fired on Bulgarians employed on the railway.

Some troops were also brought down from the Servian frontier, for Hassan Pasha advanced toward the insurgent district from Nish, with at least three battalions of infantry, and a large body of cavalry.

The authorities had in this way collected about 5,000 regular troops, before the campaign against the insurgents had really begun. The calling out of the bashi-bazouks was therefore clearly unnecessary, nor can it be justified by the state of panic which for a day or two existed in Tatar Bazardjik and Philippopolis.

The Mussulman population lost no time, however, in making use of the arms which had been distributed to them. On the 5th of May, Mr. Matalas, the Greek vice-consul, to whom I have before referred, went from Philippopolis to Tatar Bazardjik, and saw the villages to the north of the railway already in flames. In these villages there had been no attempt at insurrection and no resistance. At Tatar Bazardjik he found the Turks all armed, but much frightened. As soon as troops began to arrive they recovered their courage, and on the 7th of May 4,000 bashi-bazouks went out, with the watchword, "All glory for the Sultan and pillage for us." They marched northward, passing the village of Alikotch, which they did not touch, as the inhabitants were there. Going further on, they came to the village of Radulovo, which had been abandoned by the terrified inhabitants, and which they, therefore, pillaged and burned, as also several more in the immediate neighborhood. The flames of these burning villages Mr. Matalas was able to see from Tatar Bazardjik. On returning from Radulovo, the bashi-bazouks found Olikotch also abandoned, and they then pillaged and burned that village. Mr. Matalas saw also the flames of many burning villages to the north of the river Maritza, on the 9th, as he was returning to Philippopolis.

All of this was before the attack either by troops or by bashi-bazouks on the insurgent villages, and the villages thus burned were entirely innocent. Ready excuses were found for pillaging and burning these villages, on the ground that the Christians had hesitated or refused to give their arms, or in the allegation that not all the arms had been delivered up.

THE REPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION.

Perushtitsa was a well-built, flourishing village, inhabited entirely by Bulgarians, and situated at the foot of the Rhodope, three hours south of Philippopolis. It had 400 houses and about 3,500 inhabitants, with two churches and two schools. It had recently founded an agricultural society, and had collected money to start an agricultural school. It was richer and more prosperous than any other town in that region, and had on that account excited the jealousy and envy of neighboring villages, inhabited by Pomaks or Bulgarians, who, at the time of the Turkish conquest, had become Mussulmans, to save their property, and who, although they speak Bulgarian, and know but little Turkish, are in character as well as religion thoroughly Mussulman.

Even were there a committee here, there was no insurrection. The inhabitants, alarmed by the flames of the burning villages and the reports of pillage and murder, and frightened by the constant threats of massacre made by the inhabitants of Ustüna and other Pomak villages, sent one of their tchorbadjis, or notables, Rangel Gitchof, with three companions, to Philippopolis to ask the mutessarif Aziz Pasha for protection. Two zaptiehs were sent to the village, with orders to tell the inhabitants to keep quiet and live on good terms with their neighbors. The zaptiehs were also ordered to go to Ustüna, and the other Mussulman villages, to persuade the Mussulmans to make no attack on the Christians, and to urge them both to make some arrangement between themselves for their mutual protection. The zaptiehs, after staying a short time in Perushtitsa, went on to Ustüna and did not return. The inhabitants of Ustüna insisted that the people of Perushtitsa should give up their arms, and that a few of the leading men who had gone to Ustüna for negotiation should be kept as hostages.

Affairs looking constantly more and more threatening, Rangel was sent on a second mission to Philippopolis, and came back with a message from Aziz Pasha that he had no troops to give them, and that they must defend themselves in case of attack. The people of Perushtitsa insist that this was contained in a letter from the pasha. This the Turks deny.

In the meantime, bashi-bazouks from the mountains had made their appearance before the village, and their leader, Ahmed Aga, of Tamrysh, had sent Deli Hassan and another of his men into the town with orders to prepare everything for him, as he was coming with a band of bashi-bazouks to protect them. The inhabitants replied that they wished none of his protection, and were ready to protect themselves. The bashi-bazouks refused to take back this message, and a threatening altercation ensued, during which they were seized by some of the inhabitants. It is not certain whether they were killed with arms in their hands, or after they had given them up; but the people of Perushtitsa had become excited by the stories of the deeds of the bashi-bazouks brought by men who had escaped from some of the other villages which had been attacked.

Rangel was then again sent to Philippopolis, to tell the governor what the people had done, and the imminent danger in which they stood. In order to arrive safely he took with him his daughter, who was very ill, under pretense of consulting a physician. He was this time arrested, and is still confined in prison, as I was told by the Turks, partly because he had not informed the government of the death of the two Pomaks, and partly because he had conveyed powder and shot to the inhabitants of Perushtitsa. The Bulgarians say that he is detained because the Turks desire to prevent him from giving evidence of the fact that the people at Perushtitsa were told by Aziz Pasha to protect themselves.

The bashi-bazouks, who appeared before Perushtitsa, had first endeavored to enter the Greek village of Stenimakho (1,500 Greek houses, 300 Bulgarian houses, and 80 Turkish houses). The Greeks of this town, through the influence of their compatriots in Philippopolis, obtained permission to keep their arms, and had received some powder and shot from Philippopolis. They were thus able to protect themselves. This was done on the urgent representation of the Greek vice-consul, who had taken the responsibility of advising them to protect themselves, and had held the Pasha answerable if they were injured. In this they were in some degree assisted by Hadji Hamid, the mudir,* by whose good-will the town was saved. He succeeded

* *Mudir*, the administrator or chief of a hundred or village.

HAFIZ EFFENDI,
A principal actor in the Bulgarian atrocities.

RASCHID PASHA,
Late Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ottoman Porte.
Assassinated by Hassan Bey.

in restraining the Turks of the place, who, in order to compromise the Christians, had gone to the churches in the night and endeavored to put powder in them.

After being prevented from entering Stenimakho, these Pomaks and bashi-bazouks went to the Bulgarian village of Liaskovo, which they completely pillaged, and then to Yabrovo, which they also plundered, killing one man.

On arriving at Perushtitsa they were joined by the inhabitants of Ustüna, Tamrysh, and other Mussulman villages. Before attacking Perushtitsa they sacked and burned the monastery of St. Teodor, on the hill above, as well as those of the Panagia, and Bezsrebrinetsi, near Vuetshma.

Between six and seven hundred of the inhabitants of Perushtitsa fled for refuge to Philippopolis, and the rest resolved to put themselves in a condition of defense. For this purpose they took water and provisions into the two churches and school-houses, cut loop-holes in the high and thick walls which surrounded the upper church-yard, and shut themselves up.

This was on Tuesday, the 9th of May. Some went out to surrender, but after giving up their arms they were immediately massacred. Others who fled to the fields were overtaken and killed. For three days the bashi-bazouks kept the people shut up in the churches, firing over the walls at any of them they could see, while they pillaged and burned the houses of the town.

Finally, on Thursday night, Rashid Pasha arrived with a battalion of redifs* and some more bashi-bazouks from Philippopolis. It is said that he sent the insurgents a summons to surrender; but the inhabitants of Perushtitsa insist that no such message ever came, as they would at any time have been willing to surrender to regular troops. Having been informed by the bashi-bazouks of Ahmed Aga, that Servian and Russian soldiers were defending the churches, Rashid Pasha immediately began bombarding them. During the night the people in the upper church on the hill-side decided to abandon it. They cut a hole in the rear wall and fled. Some of them went to Ustüna and gave themselves up, and they

* *Redifs*, reserve troops.

were, I am happy to say, in most cases, well treated. Many of the others took refuge in the lower church.

Next morning, on finding the upper church abandoned, Rashid Pasha moved his artillery to bombard the lower. Several shells came in through the windows, killing many people. The defenders, however, still held out, until Saturday morning, the 13th of May, when, for the first time, they saw some regular troops. They opened the doors, and a part of them went out to surrender, but they were immediately massacred by the soldiers. The rest resolved to defend themselves to the death. But finally two or three women started out alone, succeeded in attracting the attention of the soldiers, and, on their lives being spared, persuaded the rest to follow and give themselves up. At the beginning of the defense of the village, the girls all cut off their braids of hair and dressed themselves in boys' clothes, in order that they might save their honor in case they fell into the hands of the Turks.

Toward the end of the struggle, one man, Spaso Genoff, killed his two sisters, his wife, and his four children, rather than have them fall into the hands of the Turks, and then killed himself.

All of the inhabitants of the town who were captured, as well as those who had taken refuge in the Turkish villages, were sent under guard to Philippopolis and imprisoned. The women and children were subsequently released, but the men were retained for a long time.

After the capture of the place the churches were stripped and in part destroyed. The church-yards, as well as the gardens of many of the dwellings, were dug up in search for buried treasure. Some valuables were found, over which the crops had been planted and were growing. This the Turks bring up as proof of preparations for revolt. It cannot, however, be really regarded in that light, because it is the habit of Bulgarians throughout the country, to bury most of their valuables and property from fear of robbery and pillage, and this has been done especially since the insurrection in Herzegovina.

Perushtitsa was entirely destroyed; not a roof, and scarcely a wall, except those of the churches, remained standing. Altogether about 1,000 people perished. The dead bodies remained for a

long time without being buried—a fact which was stated at the time in some of the newspapers of Constantinople—and it was only on the urgent representations of the consuls at Philippopolis, that a pestilence might arise, that the government sent persons to bury them.

Ahmed Aga, of Tamrysh, who was the leader of the bashi-bazouks at Perushtitsa, was rewarded with a silver medal.

A Frenchman, M. Gouzon, was killed by the bashi-bazouks at Perushtitsa. Becoming alarmed at the fate of a companion, and disregarding the remonstrances of his friends at Philippopolis, he went to Perushtitsa. He arrived there the night before the attack, and remained in the village about an hour, eating his supper. The inhabitants begged him to intercede with the authorities and with the bashi-bazouks for them, and to say that they had no intention of resisting the government, but only desired protection. He endeavored to reassure them. Soon after leaving the village he fell in with a party of bashi-bazouks, who stopped him, took from him all his money and his horse, and ordered him to sit on the ground. He protested that he was a Frenchman traveling for his private business, and showed in proof his teskeréh, or passport. This was read by the chief of the bashi-bazouks, who immediately ordered the party to fire upon him. He died at once. His hat was afterward found riddled with shot.

Although the French vice-consul obtained strong proof of the murder from persons who witnessed it, the mutessarif of Philippopolis, Hamid Pasha, endeavored to maintain that M. Gouzon was killed by the insurgents, and subsequently stated that his hat had been found in the church.

A part of the bashi-bazouks, after leaving Perushtitsa, went to the village of Diedovo, in the Rhodope Cabout (100 houses), the arms of the inhabitants of which had been refused to them on their onward march. The village now surrendered and the inhabitants fled, whereupon it was immediately pillaged and burned by the brother of Ahmed Aga. Boikovo, a neighboring village (of the same size), was also burned. Katunitsa was attacked, but was saved by the courage of a Greek who had a large farm there. Satankeni, a large village of 100 houses, was plundered and the villagers were beaten. The regular troops and

bashi-bazouks, under the command of Rashid Pasha, returned to Philippopolis.

I visited Perushtitsa in company with Mr. Baring, the English commissioner, on the 27th of July, two months and a half after its destruction. At that time no houses had yet been rebuilt. Many of the inhabitants had returned to the place, and were living as they could, sleeping on the bare ground or under straw roofs, thrown over corners of the walls. They had received no assistance from the government, and were unable to rebuild their houses, as they were afraid to go without a guard to the mountains for the purpose of cutting wood. Their crops were still standing, as they had no sickles with which to cut them, and had no money with which to hire reapers. In addition to this, nearly all their cattle had been taken from them by the bashi-bazouks, and many of them were detained in Ustüna and other neighboring Mussulman villages. They told us that an order had been issued by the governor of Philippopolis that the cattle should be restored if they could be identified; but, to avoid this order, the Mussulman neighbors had sold many of the cattle to persons coming from Haskeni, and even beyond.

At about the same time another large band of bashi-bazouks destroyed Klissura (Turkish, Persiden Devent), a town of 830 houses and about 7,000 inhabitants, situated on the southern slope of the Balkans, about 50 miles north-west of Philippopolis. This village contained a stone church and a chapel, two boys' schools and one girls' school. Owing to its position in a narrow valley among the mountains, the population was less devoted to agricultural pursuits than most Bulgarian villages. They manufactured here much coarse cloth—aba and shayak. Many of the inhabitants are peddlers or traveling merchants, who sell the cloth throughout European Turkey, and even in Smyrna and various parts of Asia Minor. Much attention is given to the cultivation of roses and to the preparation of attar.* The attar of Klissura is particularly celebrated, the yearly produce being about 140 pounds, or 4 per cent. of the whole produce of attar in Bulgaria.

After the meeting of the insurgents at Metchka, a band of men,

* *Attar*, a very rich perfume, the essential oil of the Damascus rose,

headed by Vankof, arrived at Klissura from Streltcha and Koprivtchitsa, and persuaded the inhabitants to throw up some earthworks, so as to command the roads leading into the town, telling them that the other villages were about to defend themselves, and unless they also did this they would be liable to be killed and have their village burned by the bashi-bazouks. In their defense the inhabitants were also helped by peasants, who had come on horseback from Sophia. In all, about 90 people of Klissura had arms. By the orders of Vankof, the kiatib, or clerk, was killed, and two zaptiehs, who were caught by the insurgents outside of the town and refused to surrender, were shot. Several other Turks and Mahometan gypsies were imprisoned, and two Turks and two gypsies were killed. The or-bashi,* who was one of my informants, with the other zaptiehs, got on their horses and succeeded in escaping to Rahmanli, a Turkish village in the neighborhood.

Some days after, the bashi-bazouks arrived under the command of Tussum Bey, of Karlovo, but without either Circassians or regular troops. Mehmet Effendi, the kiragasi † of Rahmanli, refused to allow them to go farther, and sent a Christian as a messenger, who was detained by the insurgents. Two Turks were then sent, who stopped at a rivulet half an hour from the town, and held a conference with two of the insurgents. They asked them what the people of Klissura were intending to do, and why they had taken up arms. The villagers replied, "Go your way; in four days what will happen will happen." The Turks returned, and two or three days after, on the 8th of May, Tussum Bey arrived with several hundred bashi-bazouks. He asked the villagers to come to him and bring their arms. They refused and fired upon him, killing one bashi-bazouk. The small body of insurgents were soon overpowered by the bashi-bazouks and fled. The villagers immediately ran away to Koprivtchitsa. The bashi-bazouks released the prisoners, set fire to the prison, and partly burned the town. They went away, however, the next day, when others arrived, who remained six days in the town, which they thoroughly pillaged and destroyed. Subse-

* *Or bashi*, head man of the village.

† *Kiragasi*, commander of a Mussulman town.

quent parties took away even the nails from the burnt beams and the tiles from the roofs. Among the other losses of the place were 485 copper retorts for distilling attar of roses (worth from four to five Turkish pounds each), which were appropriated by the Turks of the neighboring villages. Two hundred and thirty-two people were killed, of whom 58 were men, and the rest women and children.* Their bodies lay unburied for two or three weeks, during which time many of them were eaten by the dogs. Many of these persons were killed with circumstances of great barbarity. A newly-born child was hacked to pieces before the eyes of its mother, who was put to death afterward. The wife of Nicolo Pentchof, and four boys, were shut up in a well, where they died. The inhabitants did not return to Klissura for 32 days, when they came back with Hafiz Pasha. The Turkish authorities at Philippopolis claim that 14 Turks were killed by the insurgents at the first outbreak and during the fight.

When I visited Klissura on the 5th of August, only one house had been rebuilt, and its proprietor had, with cynical philosophy, placed over the door this inscription in Bulgarian: "To-day this house is mine, to-morrow another's, and never belongs to any one."

The local Turkish authorities said that not more than 50 families were in a condition to rebuild their houses, and that the others unless assistance was given, must remain almost without shelter. At that time the people were living in 130 tents, which had been furnished them by Hafiz Pasha at the time he brought them back.

The churches had not only been thoroughly destroyed, partly by the aid of petroleum and gunpowder, but had been desecrated; and the few frescoes of saints which remained on the blackened walls were pierced and scratched with bayonets and sabers. The silver vessels and other valuables of the church were taken by Tussum Bey, who made them into ornaments for decorating his saddle and bridle. As there was but little agriculture here, the distress of the people seemed greater than in many other places. According to the mudir† and kiatib,‡ an order had been issued from

* Others state the number of killed at about 400.

† *Mudir*, headman of village. ‡ *Kiatib*, village or town clerk, or secretary.

Philippopolis forbidding any one to leave the town. They had written three letters asking to have this order rescinded, so that the inhabitants might not only travel through the country and collect their debts and seek work elsewhere, but might be able to go into the mountains to bring wood and stone to rebuild their houses. No answers had been received. Very many wished to follow us to Koprivtchitsa, alleging that they would starve if they remained in the town. The kiatib seemed an excellent official, who was desirous of doing what he could to assist the people. The mudir, too, was good when he was sober, but his conduct when he was drunk gave rise to many complaints. Much difficulty was also experienced from the zaptiehs, who beat the men and threatened the women. The mudir thought that the difficulty with them arose chiefly from the fact that they had not been paid for a long time, and were almost as famished as the villagers. For a week previous to my arrival the inhabitants had been prevented from working for themselves, and had been compelled by the officials to rebuild the earth-works which had been destroyed by the rain. This was at the command of Tussum Bey, who accompanied the English commissioner, and who desired that the earth-works should be restored in order that other foreigners who came there might see the evidence of the guilt of the insurgents. The band of Tussum Bey pillaged and destroyed several other villages. Tussum Bey, for this exploit, was decorated with the order of the Medjidié.

Adyl Pasha and Hafiz Pasha, having arrived at Philippopolis with eight battalions of regular troops and six mountain-guns of new model, took command of the forces there, and Hafiz Pasha, with several battalions and a large detachment of bashi-bazouks, marched against Panagurishta (Otlukkeni), which was regarded as the head-quarters of the insurrection.

Another large force, under Hassan Pasha, who had come from Nish, marched in the same direction. Benkofsky, the chief of the insurgents, had taken command at Panagurishta, on the 1st of May, the day after the meeting at Metchka, and, under his directions, a line of earth-works had been thrown across the slope of the hills crossing the main road going from Tatar Bazardjik, about two miles from the town. Another small wall had been thrown up near the edge of the town. Before this Benkofsky

had called the inhabitants together, and had made them a vigorous address, for it seems that he was an eloquent young man, which excited them to the greatest enthusiasm. They went to the church and forced one of the priests to bless their undertaking, and then compelled a young girl of nineteen, Raika, the daughter of a priest, and a school-mistress in the village, to mount a horse and ride in a procession, carrying a silk flag, which she had previously been persuaded to embroider with the old Bulgarian lion, and the words "Freedom or Death." This girl subsequently, after being taken prisoner, was nicknamed by the Turks "The Queen of the Bulgarians," in reference to the part she had played on that day.

After this procession, when it seems that many of the insurgents were drunk, they attacked the konak, or government-house, and killed two Turkish tithe-collectors, who attempted to escape from the konak, and subsequently they killed the servant of a Turkish engineer from Philippopolis, who refused to give up his arms. Two zaptiehs, another tithe-collector, a collector of beklik, or sheep-tax, and two Pomaks were captured in the khan, and were imprisoned, and it is said that they were afterward put to death. A few days after the insurgents killed another zaptieh, who had been exceedingly cruel and harsh, and was much disliked.

On the first evening a man coming from Tatar Bazardjik, who it was thought was a tithe-collector, was killed, together with the driver of his carriage, because they refused to surrender. The next day the insurgents at the edge of the village met two Turks with three women. On being summoned to surrender they fired, and the insurgents fired in return, killing the two Turks and one of the women. One of the remaining women seized a saber, and endeavored to defend herself, and wounded an insurgent. The others then fired and killed her also. The third woman was taken to the village and well treated. After the surrender of the village she was given up to the pasha, and at the time of my inquiry was living at Zlatitsa. Another tithe-collector, who was met on the plain and refused to surrender, was also killed. Ten Turkish workmen who were coming from Philippopolis met the insurgents on the frontier of the village and were ordered to surrender. They refused, and one was killed and one

wounded. The wounded man was treated by a doctor, and the others, who were made prisoners, were well treated, and subsequently returned to Philippopolis on the surrender of the town. In all 12 (perhaps 17) Turks, two of whom were women, were killed. Most of them were killed with arms in their hands while resisting the insurgents. The killing of the tax-collectors, who had incensed the people by their injustice and tyranny, is easily intelligible.

On the 12th of May, Hafiz Pasha and his troops arrived from the side of Streltcha, coming down by the large church, where also some small earth-works had been erected. There were about seventy men, only thirty of whom were well armed. At the other fortifications there were 150 men, while Benkofsky and eighty well-armed Bulgarians were at a place in the mountains called Siva Gramada, by which he had expected the attacking forces to pass. The Bulgarians maintain that no summons to surrender was sent to them, although there was a report that a letter to that effect had been received by one of the officials, who concealed it from the rest. They say that when the regular troops came on the top of the hill overlooking the town they began to fire, and when nearer they bombarded it. The bombardment began at nine o'clock on the morning of the 12th of May, and lasted till about midnight. Some of the inhabitants succeeded in running away, but others were prevented by cavalry, and were either taken prisoners or were killed. The pillage of the town and the massacre of the inhabitants began on Friday night and continued till Tuesday night. On Saturday, Hafiz Pasha tried to stop the pillage, but in consequence of the discontent of the bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey and Tussum Bey the plunder was allowed to continue until Tuesday. Every house was pillaged, and about 400 out of the 3,000 houses of the town were burned. Panagurishta was a considerable commercial center, and the houses burned included the bazaar, the churches, all the schools except a girls' school, which, on account of its position, was not noticed. According to the best information I could obtain, by careful comparison of statements, over two thousand people were killed in and about the town. Of these, 769 (264 men, 288 women, and 217 children) were inhabitants of Panagurishta itself, as appears by a list of names in my possession.

The others belonged to the nine villages of Dinkeni, Steherkovo, Elshitsa, Jumaya, Kalaglasi, Popintsa, Ereli, Kepeli, Biata, and Shekhlari, who, partly owing to persuasions and the threats of the insurgents, and partly through fear of the Mussulmans, had taken refuge in the town before the approach of the troops.

The capture and sack of this place, in which the regular troops took the chief part, were accompanied by the most fearful cruelty and barbarity. It would seem that scarcely a woman or girl in the place escaped violation. In general, it was extremely difficult to obtain evidence of acts of this kind, as from natural modesty the women were unwilling to state facts which they thought perhaps reflected upon their personal honor, and the men disliked to tell such things of their wives, sisters, and daughters. Added to this is the fact, that such is the prevalent chastity and such the feeling of honor among the Bulgarians, that no woman who is known to have been violated or seduced, can ever be married. Rape and violation, however, appeared to have been so common in Panagurishta that there seemed less objection there to telling the truth, and I had, unfortunately, the best evidence of every kind with regard to violations of women and girls of all ages. Nor were acts of bestiality perpetrated on the female sex alone.

Among other victims to the lust of the soldiers was Raika, the school-mistress of whom I have already spoken, who was repeatedly violated. Some time subsequently orders were given for her arrest, and she was confined for the night in the house of the mudir of Panagurishta, who then also violated her and maltreated her. This fact has been contradicted, on the ground that the girl herself denies it. It is true that she denied it to me when interrogated in the presence of the doctor of the prisons and of several other persons, besides bystanders of the street. As she was confined in the harem of the imam of Philippopolis I was only able to see her in the street, where she was brought for the purpose. At a more private interview with her afterward, she admitted that she had been violated, and her statement was confirmed to me, so far as the soldiers were concerned, by a woman who was present and saw it. That she denied it in court, and offered to submit to medical examination, I am unable to believe. Statements were made to me to that effect, but always by persons who were not present at her examination; and Selim Effendi, the

president of the tribunal, whom I asked about it, stated to me that no such thing had taken place in his court, and that it was the first he had ever heard of it, adding that the question was not even asked her.

Among other acts of barbarity, Feodor Hadji Peof, an old man of seventy-five, was violated on the altar in the church and then killed and burned. An old blind man, Dontcha Strigalof, was fastened up in his house and burnt alive. Another old man, a public benefactor, whose charities had extended to Mussulmans as well as to Christians, Zvatko Boyadjef, had his eyes put out, and was then killed and burned. The priest Nestor had his fingers cut off one by one, in order to extort money. Four of the eight priests were killed. The churches were all destroyed, and the trouble taken to desecrate them, showed the religious hatred of the Mussulmans. Under the altar and in the floor of the church of the Virgin were large holes, which had been dug in the hope of finding concealed treasure. The corpses of some children, which had been buried behind the church, were also dug up in the hope of finding treasure, and were eaten by the dogs.

Although the losses of the town were small as compared with some others, yet, on account of the pillage, the distress was and is very great. The industry of the place is for the time entirely ruined, and the inhabitants have, in spite of their losses, been compelled to pay ordinary taxes as well as the damages caused by the attacking party. In one of the granaries, grain belonging to the Turkish tithe-collectors was burned by the troops, and the inhabitants of the place were obliged to refund its value, £750= $3,750.

Yussuf Aga and Raschid Bey, from Sophia, marched against Petritch (339 houses), which they burned.

Petritch defended itself against the bashi-bazouks for ten days, during which time the Turks, according to their own account, lost 15 men; according to the Bulgarian account, 6. Of the Bulgarians 85 were killed, many of the children being put to death with fearful tortures. Hafiz Pasha, with his regular troops, also pillaged and burned the villages of Metchka, Mukhovo, Bania, Popinsa, Biata, Kakoutsa, and some others. Nearly all of the cattle and live stock belonging to the town were carried away.

Hassan Pasha, who came from Nish, arrived on Sunday, the

14th of May, in the defile of Kapudjik. The Turkish authorities say that he had there a brush with the insurgents, and completely routed them, killing many. The official account in *La Turquie* states the number left on the field as 200. On the 15th of May Hassan Pasha arrived at the town of Vetreno, 18 miles west of Tatar Bazardjik (according to the official account), "without meeting the least resistance, and the villagers here submitted to him, and even kissed the cannons and the arms of the soldiers to show their submission." Notwithstanding this, he bombarded the village, burned the church and 156 out of 350 Bulgarian houses, and completely pillaged the remainder. After two days devoted to plunder and destruction, Hassan Pasha sent word to the inhabitants, who had taken refuge in Sestreno, that they might return. About forty persons, chiefly men, were killed. Hassan Pasha, after pillaging and burning Shekhlari, Dere, Aman, Teserovo, and Slavitsa, reached Tatar Bazardjik on the 16th of May. In the four villages just mentioned 86 persons are known to have been killed by the troops.

There are some very interesting details with regard to the operations of Hassan Pasha from a source which can hardly be suspected of exaggeration against the Turks. I refer to a letter from a Turkish officer, dated Ichtiman, May 26, inclosed in a dispatch of Mr. Blunt, the British Consul at Salonica, well known for his Turkish sympathies, published in the English Blue-Book, "Turkey No. 3 (1876), p. 324." "We had scarcely fired a few cannon-shot when the fort fell, and more than two thousand Bulgarians took to flight. We pursued them, firing at them both with guns and small arms. Those who escaped our volleys, received on the top of the mountain those of the other battalion. A small number only saved themselves by flight, the rest, including three priests, were killed. At 11 o'clock, without having lost a single man, we victoriously reached another Balkan Mountain. On the following day we resumed our march, burning without compassion several villages which we passed, and seizing the live stock. We sent ten thousand to Sophia, an equal number to Tatar Bazardjik, without counting those which each battalion kept for its own use. After a march of eight days we reached Bellova with two guns, and there the insurgents surrendered without fighting, and were made prisoners."

At Bellova, Hassan Pasha demanded 45,000 piasters in two hours, under threat of bombardment. The women gave up their coin necklaces to make up the amount. Fifty-one prisoners were sent to Philippopolis, five of whom died on the road from bad treatment. Many prisoners were also taken to Sophia, including two priests, who were fiendishly tortured until they died.

From Tatar Bazardjik the force of Hassan Pasha went southward to Bratzigovo, which had defended itself for six days against the bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey and Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik, who had previously destroyed Radulovo, Alikotch, Biega, Kozarsko, and Zdrebitchta. As soon as the inhabitants saw regular troops, they offered to surrender, but Hassan Pasha bombarded the village, which was but slightly damaged. Forty-five of the inhabitants were killed. After Hassan Pasha went to Philippopolis, the village was thoroughly plundered by the bashi-bazouks.

Koprivtchitsa (Turkish, Avrat Alan) is a large town of 2,500 houses and about 10,000 inhabitants, situated a little north-east of Panagurishta; and although it was one of the most guilty, as far as the insurrection was concerned, from circumstances which will be hereafter mentioned, it suffered but little in comparison to the others. The town was a rich one, many of the inhabitants being engaged in the manufacture and sale of coarse cloths. During the winter there was much discontent on account of the exemption-tax and disputes in collecting the sheep-tax. The agents of the Bucharest committee had succeeded in instilling ideas of revolt into some of the younger men, when finally some of the notables, fearing the result of an insurrectionary attempt, gave information of the state of things to the mudir, and urged him to send to Philippopolis for zaptiehs. This was done, and Nedib Aga, the colonel of the rural police, and ten zaptiehs, soon after arrived at Koprivtchitsa. Nedib Aga arrested several persons who had been prominent in the sheep-tax disputes, telling them that he had orders to send them to Tatar Bazardjik, where the authorities desired to see them, although he knew not for what purpose.

On the 2d of May, as agreed upon at Metchka, the insurgents began their movement by tolling the church-bell to summon the

villagers together, and then making an attack upon the konak,* and demanding of Nedib Aga to release the prisoners. This was done. They then ordered him to surrender; but as he was a man of some military experience, and had served under Hungarian officers, he was able rapidly to put the konak in a state of defense, and after several hours' siege succeeded in escaping with his zaptiehs, losing only one man in the flight. Another zaptieh was subsequently killed outside of the town. The mudir of the village, following Nedib Aga's example, also tried to escape, but was pursued and killed near the river just as he was leaving the town. He had been there but a short time, and had left his wife at Eskizagra, where she is still living. He had no children with him. The untruth of the statement, several times made to me, that his wife and daughter had been killed at Koprivtchitsa, is manifest.

There were living in the village, about forty Mussulman gypsies. It had been rumored that Klissura had been burned by gypsies, and that these very men had had some share in it. They were, therefore, arrested by order of the insurgents, and, on searching their houses, arms, petroleum, and powder were found. After three days' arrest they were taken outside of the town by the insurgents and executed. Besides these men, several Turks were arrested in the village; but, of them, five or six were sent away the following day in perfect safety, and since the cessation of the disturbances, they frequently visit the town, the inhabitants of which were forced to pay them for the arms and oxen taken away from them.†

Osman Effendi, the resomat meymour ‡ of the place, was kept prisoner, together with his wife and seven children; but they were all released after the surrender of the town to the Turkish troops. (See official telegram from Sophia, published in the official newspaper, "The Danube," $\frac{9\text{th}}{21\text{st}}$ May).

The inhabitants of Koprivtchitsa admit killing, during the short period of the insurrection, forty gypsies and nine Turks. The

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* *Konak*, government or town house.

† I saw the receipt for the money so paid. It was attested by three witnesses, one of them being the bim bashi of the place.

‡ *Resomat meymour* (Bulgarian), mayor.

HASSAN BEY,

The assassin of Hussein Avni and Raschid Pasha, Turkish Ministers of War and Foreign Affairs.

ACHMET KAISERLI PASHA,

A Turkish officer, wounded in attempting to secure Hassan Bey.

Turks claim a loss of seventy-two; *i. e.*, sixty-six gypsies, five Turks, and one girl.

The population of Koprivtchitsa, during the insurrection, was greatly swelled by the inhabitants of the nine villages of Novo-Selo, Streltcha, Aivadjik, Krastovo, Uzun-geren, Eleshnitsa, Zeratsoro, Zingerli, and Klissura, who fled there partly at the instigation of insurgent emissaries, and partly through fear of their Mussulman neighbors.

In the meantime, the richer and more prominent men of the town had become alarmed by the frequent reports which had reached them of the burning and pillaging of villages by the bashi-bazouks, and of the slaughter of the inhabitants. They therefore arrested the young men who had stirred up the revolt, who were all of the village except two, who were also Bulgarians from other places. One, however, ran away to Panagurishtsa, and informed the insurgents of that place. A party, therefore, came to Koprivtchitsa, broke open the doors of the prison, rescued those who were detained there, and all ran away.

Fearing for the safety of the town, on the 11th of May the notables sent a letter to Philippopolis asking for regular troops, and on the 12th another letter was sent to the same effect.

That very morning, May 12, regular troops came, preceded by bashi-bazouks, all led by the mirali, or colonel, Hassan Bey. The people of Koprivtchitsa sent out as their plenipotentiary the priest Dontcho, who was immediately fired upon and killed by bashi-bazouks. Subsequently two men were sent, who offered the submission of the inhabitants, one of them the priest Stogan. Both were fired at and wounded. Hassan Bey then ordered the notables of the place to come to the camp, as well as the notables from the other villages, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge there. He said he had just come from Constantinople, and was willing to spare the village if its submission were not delayed, but if it were delayed a quarter of an hour he would bombard the town. Part of the inhabitants he kept as hostages, and the rest he sent to bring in the arms, which filled seven carts. Among the arms were three wooden cannon bound with iron

hoops, which had been made by the insurgents, although, to be sure, they were never fired, and in any case they were utterly useless.

The notables, who were collected on a hill outside of the town, were beaten and ill-treated by the bashi-bazouks, and the latter threw stones at the houses, breaking the windows, because at that time they were not allowed to pillage the place.

During the evening, Hassan Bey,* for what reason it is not known, fired three times at the church, hitting it only once and killing no one. Several people, however, from the villages in the neighborhood were killed near the town. That night, Saturday, the 12th of May, the bashi-bazouks entered the town in spite of the efforts of the regular troops to keep them away. On Sunday morning they began pillaging. Hassan Bey came himself to the konak, and arrested several of the inhabitants, under the pretext that they had not given up all their arms. After the bashi-bazouks had well plundered the place, Hassan Bey went away with his troops, promising to send the regular troops back in two or three days.

On Tuesday, the 14th, he sent a bim bashi* with regular troops, but these were redifs† who had come from Asia Minor, and were, if possible, worse than the bashi-bazouks, for they also plundered the houses and killed twenty-five people.

The inhabitants then sent a letter to Hafiz Pasha, who came and remained there two days, leaving a bim bashi and two companies of soldiers, while he himself went to Zlatitsa. In four days, however, he returned because he had heard that some arms were still concealed. He then ordered all the inhabitants to come to the konak, where he kept them all night, while the bashi-bazouks, under the pretext of searching the houses for arms, pillaged nearly everything that was left, and violated very many of the women.

The men whom I questioned generally denied that any violations had taken place; but the second day of my stay I received a deputation of the most respectable ladies of the town, who presented me with a letter, in which they stated that during

* *Bim bashi*, a colonel in the army.

† *Redifs*, reserve troops.

the absence of their husbands at the konak, they had been violated by the soldiers. This they had been ashamed to confess to their husbands.

The town was saved from destruction by the orders of Hassan Bey and Hafiz Pasha, who for his mercy was paid very large sums of money by the inhabitants. The houses were thoroughly pillaged, not only of money and valuables, but even of furniture, clothing, etc., so that in some literally nothing remained, and the floors, even, were ripped up lest something should remain concealed.

While the troops and bashi-bazouks sent out from Philippopolis were thus restoring order to the different sections of the province, Batak, a large village, situated in the mountains about 30 miles south of Tatar Bazardjik, was destroyed by the bashi-bazouks, under command of Achmed Aga of Burutina, or, as he is sometimes called, of Dospat (Dospat Balkan). I have heard that he was sent there by orders of the medjliss * of Tatar Bazardjik, but was unable to assure myself of the truth of this statement.

A few bashi-bazouks had been seen round the town for three days, when finally, on St. George's day (May 5th), when the people were at church, Achmed Aga appeared in front of the village. The inhabitants, after consulting a little, went home, stayed in their houses, and got their arms ready to defend themselves. They then sent to the Turks to know what Achmed Aga wanted. The first two messengers were killed. Achmed Aga then ordered the inhabitants to send out to him the chief men of the place for a conference. No one wished to go; but finally, Vranko, one of the tchorbadjis, or notables, offered himself as a messenger in case no one else would volunteer. He went out accompanied by his wife Sophia—who was one of the witnesses who appeared before me—his three children, and another tchorbadji, Triandafil, with his son. Achmed Aga recalled to them that he was the natural protector of Batak, for it seems that for several generations he and his ancestors had claimed a sort of protectorate over this neighborhood. He told

* *Medjliss*, town council.

them to have confidence in him, and give up their arms, and swore a solemn oath that none should be hurt or even a hair of their heads touched. Triandafil and his son remained as hostages while the rest went back to the village, and the arms were sent out in three carts. It was then arranged that the bashi-bazouks should be distributed in the houses of the village. At this time, Triandafil and Vranko were retained as hostages till the arrangements should be completed. While Vranko's wife was preparing a lunch for Achmed Aga, who was to stay in their house, the bashi-bazouks came and began to torture her to obtain money. After undergoing various tortures she fainted away, and remained in that condition for some time, her infant being torn from her arms and thrown into a stable. Some others came up and raised her by her hair, and she gave them 460 piasters, which was all she had. The bashi-bazouks, however, thought that she had more, undressed her, and found her husband's watch. She wanted them to kill her, but they gave her back her outside clothes, and carried her off and kept her for three days.

In the meantime, after getting what money and valuables they could from the villagers, the bashi-bazouks collected many of the prettiest young girls, and took them to a hill outside the town, where they were reserved to satisfy the passions of the ruffians. Indiscriminate slaughter now began. Women, girls, and children were killed in the houses and in the streets, while many men were taken to a log of wood and beheaded with sabers. Very few were able to escape the cordon of bashi-bazouks, and the majority of the inhabitants were killed under circumstances of great barbarity. Vranko's wife found the bodies of her husband and of Triandafil's son, with their heads cut off. Triandafil had been impaled alive on a wooden spit, and then roasted. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their unborn infants carried about on the bayonets of the bashi-bazouks. The school-house was burned with 200 women and children within. Other houses, in which 20, 30, and even 40 women had shut themselves up, were burned, together with the inmates. The remainder of the inhabitants sought refuge in the church and the church-yards, but the bashi-bazouks scaled the high walls, and all

the villagers in the church-yard were killed. Petroleum, straw, and fire-brands were used to set fire to the wood-work inside the church, and sabers and muskets did the rest. The young girls who had previously been taken outside of the town were all violated, and then beheaded.

I visited Batak on the 1st of August. On entering the village, I passed through a small hollow on the hill-side, in which I counted more than a hundred skulls, which had evidently been cut off by a sharp instrument. From their small size and the braids of hair still clinging to them, they were beyond doubt the skulls of women. The dogs, which in large numbers had been gnawing the bones, were driven off at my approach.

Further on, the fields were full of skulls and skeletons.

In the town but one building, a mill, still retained its roof and walls, and its weir was full of swollen corpses. Everywhere through the streets I found bones of women to which shreds of female clothing hung. There were shirts with the heads and limbs protruding, the hands and feet having been cut off. There were skulls with braids of hair attached. There were even rotting and putrid corpses. Among the ruins could be seen fragments of charred human bones and half-buried bodies.

The church-yard was still worse. It was three feet deep with human remains, over which had been hurriedly thrown boards and heaps of stones, which but half concealed the corpses.

Passing over these with great difficulty, on account of the fearful stench, I saw, protruding from the stones, hands and feet with the flesh dried upon them, and human heads, one of which I noticed had an ear cut off. Making my way to the door of the church, I beheld a spectacle which it is impossible to describe. The ruined church was filled with decomposing bodies, many of which were half burned. I should think that in the church and the church-yard I saw the remains of fully 2,000 bodies, which in great part were still only half decayed.

After the massacre of Batak, the houses having been thoroughly pillaged, the bashi-bazouks retired, carrying with them very many children and young persons, whom they intended to bring up as their slaves and dependents.

About two weeks after the massacre, on the representations of the consuls and others at Philippopolis that a pestilence might arise, the government gave orders to bury the bodies, and persons were sent to Batak for the purpose. At this time, however —it was during the month of June—the stench was so overpowering that it was impossible to carry out the orders, but stones, bricks, and tiles were thrown over the church-yard walls in the hope of at least partially covering the bodies; and a report was made that the orders of the government had been executed. Had the bodies remained exposed to the open air, decomposition would have set in much sooner, but this covering of stones preserved them—preserved them for us to see the evidences of cruelty and barbarity, which otherwise we would have been loth to believe.

It is somewhat difficult to estimate the number of persons killed at Batak, as Turkish statements are notoriously very imperfect. It does not seem even to be known exactly how many houses there were in the place. The number was first given to me as about nine hundred. Subsequently I was told five hundred and eighty-seven; but Mr. Matalas, the Greek vice-consul at Philippopolis, who made inquiries *previous* to the massacre, on account of the lumber trade in which he was interested, places it at seven hundred and eighty. In general, in Bulgarian villages, the number of persons living in a house (according to my investigations) is from seven and a half to eight; but in Batak, the situation was peculiar. Here, more than in many thickly-populated villages, was it the habit for married sons, with all of their children, to live in their father's house. I frequently heard of families of from fifteen to twenty persons, and knew of one—that of Blajoi Christofski—which consisted of thirty-nine persons, of whom only nine are now living. It would seem necessary therefore to place the average number of persons in a house at Batak at ten at least. This would give the population of the village at between seven and eight thousand. According to the tax-bills which I saw, the number of *nufus*, *i. e.*, persons liable to military service, was one thousand four hundred and twenty-one. If this number were

legally calculated on the male inhabitants liable to military service between fifteen and sixty, it would come to about the same, and we know that generally the Bulgarian Christians were desirous, on account of the tax, of making their numbers as small as possible.

When I was at Batak, the number of persons surviving was stated at one thousand three hundred only. I have since heard of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one persons actually alive, and presume that about two thousand persons escaped. Five thousand persons, therefore, would appear to have been killed in the place. The survivors had lost everything, many even their clothes. At the time of my visit they had only begun to return to their village, and many of them took advantage of my being there to return for the first time.

The harvest was still standing, but they were unable to cut it in consequence of the want of agricultural tools. Their cattle had all been stolen. The chief industry of the town was in timber and boards, in which they carried on considerable traffic, even with distant parts of the country. It is said that there were four hundred saw-mills in the district on the little stream running through the town, nearly all of which were destroyed.

More than this: the inhabitants were called upon for payment of taxes on houses which had been destroyed, and for the exemption-tax from military service for men who had been killed. The tax-bills which I saw demanded for the present year on immovable property, including *temetwad*,* 64,767 piasters, and for the exemption from military service 39,472 piasters. The mutessarif of Philippopolis told me that, although perhaps the formality of presenting the tax-bills had taken place, yet the tax would not be demanded. Still, so late as the end of September, the grain, after being cut, was not allowed to be brought in until the tithes were paid. The inhabitants were also suffering greatly; for exposure to the weather and want of food brought the natural consequences of fever and dysentery. They were also in great fear of their Mussulman neighbors, and with some reason; for, at the

* *Temetwad*, dwelling-houses.

time of my visit, I found sitting with the guardians of the village one Hadji Mehmed Ibeoglu, who had extorted money from the inhabitants at the time of the massacre, as well as a certain Bektashi Akhmed, called Medus, one of the leaders of the massacre in the church.

Achmed Aga of Burutina, who commanded the massacre, was subsequently rewarded with a decoration of the Medjidié,* and was promoted to be Yuzbashi.†

THE INSURRECTION IN THE SANDJAK‡ OF SLIVEN.

At the end of March, some young men of Sliven, excited by the vexing and unjust acts committed by the authorities, took refuge in the neighboring mountains. Their number gradually increased to twenty-four. Although up in arms against the government, they killed no one except a Builuk Bashi, who had been sent to negotiate with them. They were commanded by a certain Hilarion, surnamed "from Odessa," who was, however, not a Russian, but a Bulgarian, born at Rustchuk. This band was joined by some villagers from Shiramzia and Negovo; but on the 19th of May it was surrounded by three hundred regular soldiers, and some bashi-bazouks, who had been collected in the neighboring villages by order of the vali of Adrianople. After a short resistance the insurgents surrendered. The villages of Medven and Zheravna were pillaged. Thirty-five were taken prisoners, while the others were killed and their heads exposed before the house of the governor of Sliven. Excited by this spectacle, on May 22d, the soldiers stationed at the cloth-factory in Sliven killed two Bulgarians in the market-place, mortally wounded a third, and injured more or less grievously forty persons. It was with great difficulty that the mutessarif, Haidar Bey, aided by the Bulgarian bishop Serafim, succeeded in restoring order.

On May 25th, when all was over, Shefket Pasha arrived from Philippopolis with three battalions of troops and with several

* *Medjidié*, an order of merit somewhat like the French Legion of Honor, established by the Sultan Abdul Medjid.

† *Yuzbashi*, a captain in the army.

‡ *Sandjak*, a county or subdivision of a province.

thousand bashi-bazouks, whom he had collected in the neighborhood of Yamboli. On passing through that town, under pretext of collecting the arms of the Christians, which they had already given up to the authorities, Shefket Pasha allowed it to be pillaged. All the Bulgarian quarter and the greater part of the Christian houses in the Turkish quarter were completely sacked. The soldiers, the bashi-bazouks, and especially the Mussulmans of the town, incited by a certain Habib Bey, took away not only money and valuable objects, but even furniture, dishes, clothes, bed-coverings, etc. One officer especially, Izzet Aga, is known to have taken money. Notwithstanding the complaints of the inhabitants, who can point out the possessors of their property, nothing has been returned to them. The arrival of Shefket Pasha at Sliven, and the excesses of every kind committed in the neighborhood of this town by the irregular troops, created a great panic. On the reiterated and pressing requests of the bishop, orders were at last given to stop their depredations, but at the same time the Bulgarians were obliged to deliver up their arms to the authorities.

On the evening of May 28, called by a telegram from the Kaimakam of Yamboli, Shefket Pasha hastily marched to the village of Boyadjik. The next day this village was bombarded, pillaged, and then burned, only because the inhabitants had been unwilling to receive into their village the bashi-bazouks who accompanied the Kaimakam, at whose hands they had already suffered greatly. The inhabitants of this village, about one thousand in all, came to meet Shefket Pasha, and laid down their arms. The pasha, however, sent them back, telling them to defend themselves, and ordering the troops to fire upon them. The villagers ran away in all directions without the least resistance, and were massacred during their flight. The official number of the victims is one hundred and seventy, of whom two were priests, eight women, and eight children. I saw human bones and skulls in the fields, and ascertained the fact that only twenty houses remained in this village, and that the school and church were destroyed afterward, this last, which was built of hard stone, not without much trouble. Several heads were brought to Yamboli, among others, by an official named Hadji Mulassim. Three

heads were thrown into the street before the house of the consular agent of Italy at Burgas, then staying at Yamboli. He himself told me this fact. There is reason to believe that the destruction of Boyadjik was an act of personal vengeance on the part of Shefket Pasha, who was born in this village.

The inhabitants could not return for three weeks, for during all this time the bashi-bazouks were digging up the houses and the gardens to find objects which had been buried. All the cattle had been taken away, and at the time I visited the village, in company with Prince Tserețelef, secretary of the Russian embassy, August 12, notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of the mutessarif to restore them, out of 1,500 oxen, cows, and horses, the villagers had only 300; and of 8,000 sheep scarcely a fourth part. The Kaimakam of Yamboli had taken his share. He had 60 cows at Uzum-Kupru and 60 at Salamanlar. The bashi-bazouks had come from the villages of Karadjam, Muradli, Karakurt, Gübel, Kurfali, Baly-Bunar, Kulfa-Keni, Pandakly, Güyamli, Tchumleklar, Guleman, and Kaya-Burnu. There were also Circassians from Hanu and Tartars from Mikeniti and Arap Hodja. They were commanded by Selimeh Ghirei, surnamed "the Sultan of Pandakly," the terror of the neighboring villages.

Shefket Pasha left Boyadjik for the seven villages of Beshtepé, which he destined to the same fate. He produced as his authority a telegram from Adrianople, from the Serdar-Ekhrem, Abdul-Kerim Pasha, ordering the destruction of these places. It was again owing to the courageous intervention of the bishop Serafim that these villages were saved. He went to the camp of Shefket Pasha, made himself guarantee for the fidelity of these villages, and, after having experienced numerous insults, succeeded in obtaining the pardon of these people, who were truly innocent. Nevertheless, some villages were pillaged, etc. In the district of Musluk-Hodja, the church was pillaged and desecrated. In this place, out of 7,000 sheep there remained only 24. Even the local authorities admit that Shefket Pasha is alone responsible for the disorders and damage committed, and for the insecurity which since that time reigns in the country. As a recompense for his conduct he was named marshal of the palace.

THE INSURRECTION IN THE SANDJAK OF TIRNOVO.*

The long series of unjust acts, abuses, and cruelties committed against the Christians in this district, as well by the inhabitants as by the authorities, brought the Bulgarians to a state of exasperation which made them foresee a rising. Some young men, finding no other means of bringing their state of distress to the knowledge of the central government and of the Christian powers, took up arms, forming three little bands, one near Tirnovo, another near Trevno, and the third near Gabrovo. The first was chiefly composed of inhabitants from Vriahovitza, who had just been pillaged by their Mussulman neighbors under the pretext of disarming them. Conducted by a certain Pope† Horiton, this band tried to get to the Balkans, but was pursued by the regular troops and the Mussulman villagers, and on May 11 took refuge in the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, near Drenovo, where it was surrounded. On being summoned to surrender, the insurgents demanded twenty-four hours to state their complaints, but this was refused them, and, on the arrival of Fazly Pasha from Shumla with two cannons, the monastery was bombarded. Under the cover of the night and of a heavy fall of snow a part of the insurgents escaped. At break of day seventy-five went without arms and with a white flag to surrender. They were all massacred, by order of the pasha commanding, in a most cruel way. Some were cut to pieces, others had their limbs cut off or long strips of flesh torn from their bodies, and others were disemboweled. On arriving at the monastery, the troops killed there the mother of the prior, an old woman of eighty. The pillage was begun by the regular troops, and continued by the bashi-bazouks for fifty days. Profanation accompanied the pillage. The Turks used the holy vessels to satisfy their natural wants, and the coverings of the chalice and the sacerdotal vestments to wrap up their feet or to ornament their horses. Nine monks were killed. Part of the buildings were burned the same day, and the church some days afterward, by the aid of petroleum, which had been brought for that purpose from Drenovo. I found the monastery a mass of ruins, from which even the iron and wood had been taken

* *Tirnovo* or *Tirnova*, the capital of Bulgaria, north of the Balkans.

† *Pope* or *Popa* (Bulgarian), a priest of the Bulgarian Greek Church.

away, and I saw human bones in the neighborhood. The mutessarif, on being informed of the pillage, took no measures to stop it, and even declared that every edifice touched by a bullet became the property of the state, and that this monastery could not be rebuilt in a position strategically so important. The authorities maintain that the regular troops did not enter the convent, but I was able to ascertain that objects coming from the church were openly sold in Drenovo and Gabrovo by regular soldiers. Fazly Pasha went on to Trevno, plundering the villages on the road.

The band formed near Gabrovo was composed of thirty men, and was led by Tzanko Dustaban, a native of that town, who had studied at Paris, but was not acquainted with the use of arms. After having attacked a Turkish post on the road to Shipka, which, however, owing to the efforts of the chief, was left untouched, these young men came to the village of Novo-Selo, and passed three days there. On the approach of the Circassians and the bashi-bazouks, coming from Plevno and Selvi, the insurgents and the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge in the mountains. The chief of these irregular troops was Deli Nedjib, the Kaimakam of Plevno, aided by Saadullah Effendi, of Selvi. On May 21, the troops burned and sacked Novo-Selo, and killed 691 persons, 350 of whom were women and children. Out of this number, 140 persons were killed in the village itself, the rest in the mountains and near Kalofer, where they were massacred by the band of Hadji Ibrahim of Oftchular (Kaza of Kazanlyk). The majority of the victims were old men, infirm people, and children, who were unable to save themselves. A child of five years, Yoakim, the son of Yose Popof, was killed and thrown upon a burning roof. I saw at Gabrovo a little girl, eighteen months old, with her skull fractured by a yatagan. The dead bodies were mutilated. About 100 young girls and women were violated, and some were kept several days in Turkish villages. In the Convent of the Holy Trinity, at Novo-Selo, where there were 31 nuns, the bashi-bazouks massacred one of the nuns at the gate, and five others and the abbess in the church. Two of these first had their hands cut off. The bodies were stripped and burned in the church. I found among the ruins shreds of the

clothes of the victims, and half-burned human bones. Besides these seven nuns, the father of one of them and the priest were killed in the same convent. Some of the nuns were repeatedly violated, and two of them were kept for some days in a Turkish village.

The villages of Kravenik, Batoshevo, and Gabeni were also pillaged and in part burned. The churches of Kravenik and Batoshevo were destroyed by means of petroleum. In the Monastery of the Assumption the best buildings were burned, and the church pillaged. Among the acts of cruelty committed in these villages I limit myself to mentioning the massacre of thirteen shepherds at Kravenik, who were seized by the men of Hadji Ibrahim, of Oftchular, had their hands tied, and were killed by saber-cuts. The only one who escaped did so with the loss of an ear. He gave me the details of this affair. At Batoshevo an old man named Kole Ratchef was thrown alive into the flames.

It should be remarked that all these localities do not form compact villages, as on the south of the Balkans, but are rather composed of numerous hamlets of 15 to 80 houses, each of which has a distinct name, and, in fact, forms a distinct village. All of these hamlets have more or less suffered. The village of Kravenik had 120 houses burned, as well as 13 shops, 6 mills, a church and a school; 42 men, 9 women, and 9 children were killed. In the village of Batoshevo, out of 600 houses 60 were burned, besides 5 mills, the church, and the school; 43 men and 68 women and children were killed. Of the 1,200 houses which composed the commune of Gabeni 69 were burned, 336 pillaged, and 20 persons were killed. The bashi-bazouks and Circassians of the Kazas of Plevno and Selvi were subsequently assisted in their pillage by volunteers coming from the district of Kazanlyk (vilayet* of Adrianople), commanded by Hadji Ibrahim Manaf Mustapha and Mustapha Effendi. They brought to the south of the Balkans a great quantity of cattle, only a small part of which has been returned to the villagers. At the time of my investigation, August 20, the losses in the four villages named amounted to 33,495 head of cattle, large and small. The applications of the inhabit-

* *Vilayet*, province.

ants to the Kaimakam* of Kazanlyk had remained without result.

The appearance of a small band near Trevno, conducted by a certain Todor, of Lovtcha, and the attack on the Shipka road, caused two battalions of the regular troops, commanded by Tefik Bey, of Tirnovo, to be sent on the 21st of May from Gabrovo to Gentchevo, Novo Mahallé, Etara, and Zeleno-Drevo. A certain Hafuz, a government scribe, joined this expedition and guided the pillage. These two villages, as well as those of the district of Selvi, are composed of distinct hamlets. Nearly all were pillaged, and in some the richest shops and houses were pointed out by Hafuz, and burned. At Novo Mahallé, a school, the construction of which alone, without the materials, had cost 60,000 piasters, was burned, the church was pillaged, and sixteen villagers, nearly all shepherds, were killed in the neighborhood. In the hamlet of Zeleno-Drevo, the wife of Pentcho Tzanef was killed, and her child of four years old, whom I saw at Gabrovo, was wounded by a pistol-shot. In the hamlet of Staminetz, Kole Piperski, seventy years old, was murdered. The booty of this expedition, which was made exclusively by regular troops, was brought to Gabrovo on thirty-eight horses, ten of which was taken from Gabrovo for that purpose. Hafuz, enriched by the pillage—which is valued for the village of Novo-Mahallé at 5,500 Turkish pounds—and by his preceding exactions, was rewarded for the services rendered to the government.

The following villages were wholly or partially destroyed by the regular troops, the bashi-bazouks, and the Mussulman population in the sandjak of Philippopolis:

Vetreno (Hissardjik): 350 houses, 1 church, 1 school; burned, 156 houses and school, with valuable books and manuscripts, by Hassan Pasha. Killed, 40.

Kara-Musal: 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school; by bashi-bazouks of Tatar Bazardjik and Ineli; all burned. Killed, 50.

Kara-Bunar: Plundered by volunteers going to Sophia.

Adjeli: 60 houses plundered; paid £150 to Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik, not to be burned.

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* *Kaimakam*, the governor of a province or district.

Shekhlilaré: 60 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 43 houses burned by troops of Hassan Bey and by bashi-bazouks; 17 killed.

Kaloyerovo: 193 Bulgarian, 32 gypsy houses. Burned, 153 Bulgarian, 19 gypsy houses; 37 killed.

Tserovo: 170 Bulgarian, 20 gypsy houses, 1 church, 1 school. Burned, 63 Bulgarian, 4 gypsy houses; 45 killed. Twenty girls kept a long time by the soldiers of Hassan Pasha and violated.

Sert-Orman, (Bulgarian—Tserofsky Gumna) 120 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 53 houses burned by Circassians and bashi-bazouks from Ishtimen; 27 killed.

Dere-Orman (Bulgarian—Rietchné Gumna): 30 houses; all burned and destroyed by Hassan Pasha; 3 killed.

Slavovitsa: 158 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 14 houses burned by Hassan Pasha; 29 killed.

Dinkata (Dink-keni): 60 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 55 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 32 killed.

Lesitchevo: 168 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 64 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 55 killed. Many girls were violated while being taken to Tatar Bazardjik.

Stcherkovo (Turkish—Gildelar): 73 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 45 houses burned by bashi-bazouks; 5 killed.

Kalaglari, a mixed village: 143 Bulgarian, 15 Turkish houses. Burned, 112 Bulgarian, and 8 Turkish houses, from their proximity to the others; burned by bashi-bazouks when the inhabitants were in Panagurishta; 37 killed.

Jumaya, a mixed village: 110 Bulgarian houses; the rest Turkish and gypsy. All the Bulgarian houses burned after the inhabitants had fled; 30 killed.

Bratzigovo: 450 houses; 10 burned by bashi-bazouks; 52 killed.

Kormaya: 113 houses; all burned by Turks of neighboring villages; 67 killed. Very many violations and some abductions. One woman was forcibly made a Mussulman.

Radulovo: 158 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned by bashi-bazouks, of Mehmed Ali Bey, of Tatar Bazardjik; 36 killed.

Biega, a mixed village: 65 Bulgarian, 43 Turkish, and 7 gypsy

houses, 1 church, 1 school; all the Bulgarian houses burned by the Turks of the same village; 9 killed, including 8 children who had their hands and other members cut off.

Zdrebetchko, a mixed village: 90 Bulgarian, 40 Turkish, and 2 gypsy houses, 1 church, 1 school. All Bulgarian houses burned; 47 killed.

Alikotch (Turkish—Ali-Hodja): 68 houses; all burned by bashi-bazouks of Ali Bey; 68 killed.

Kozarsko: 95 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned; 47 killed, the children with various tortures.

Popintsa: 125 houses, 1 church, 2 schools; 26 houses burned by Hafiz Pasha; 66 killed.

Biata: 70 houses; burned, 6; all the rest plundered. Church of St. George plundered by the Yuzbashi Halil, who had been sent to guard the village; 53 killed.

Bania: 160 houses; 60 burned by Hafiz Pasha; 13 killed.

Metchka: 120 houses; 80 houses, church, and school, burned by Hafuz Pasha.

Petritch: 339 houses; 322 houses burned by Yussuf Aga, of Sophia; 85 killed.

Streltcha, a mixed village: 350 Bulgarian, 50 Turkish houses. Burned, 330 Bulgarian, 37 Turkish houses; killed, 67 Bulgarians, with horrible tortures.

Koprivtchitsa: 2,500 houses; burned, 5 mills; all houses pillaged; 52 killed.

Klissura: 830 houses, 1 church, 2 schools; all burned by Tussum Bey; 232 killed.

Sindjerli: 120 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned by Tussum Bey; 35 killed. It is not true that this village was set on fire by its inhabitants, as Turks report. On the 28th June the huts rebuilt by the inhabitants were a second time burned by the Turks.

Staro Novo-Selo: 300 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned; 106 killed.

Elshitsa: 90 houses. Burned, 52; 6 killed.

Uzun-Geren: 120 houses; all burned; 13 killed.

Krastovo: 80 houses, 1 church, 1 school; 70 burned, remainder ruined; 12 killed.

Aivadjik: 60 houses; 53 burned; 4 killed.

Ereli: 122 houses; 1 church, 1 school; all burned by Tussum Bey; 38 killed.

Kepeli: 88 houses; burned, 49; 42 killed.

Sary-Gul: 64 houses; burned, 49; 31 killed.

Poitbrena: 336 houses, 294 other buildings in neighborhood. Burned, 199 houses, 140 other buildings; 13 killed.

Panagurishta: 3,000 houses, 3 churches, 3 schools. Burned 2 churches, 2 schools, 400 houses. Killed, about 2,000, of whom 769 belonged to the town.

Perushtitsa: 400 houses, 2 churches, 2 schools; all burned. About 1,000 killed.

Bellova: 158 houses, 2 schools, 2 churches; partly burned by Turks. Railway station burned by insurgents.

Batak: 780 houses, 1 church, 3 schools; all burned; 5,000 killed.

Boikovo: 59 houses; 55 burned; school burned; church robbed; 13 killed.

Diedovo: 100 houses; all plundered. Burned by brother of Ahmed Aga.

Sotir: Burned; 4 killed. One school-master killed and body burned.

Liaskovo: Plundered; 1 killed.

Eleshnitsa: 123 houses, 1 church, 1 school. Burned, 119; 21 killed.

Pastutcha: 20 houses; all burned.

Yassy-Koria, (Yasa-Kushla:) 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned.

Doganovo, mixed village: 70 Turkish houses, 10 Bulgarian houses. All Bulgarian houses burned.

Kasapli: 30 houses; all burned.

Eshi-Kasli: 80 houses; all burned.

Elli Déré: 50 houses, 1 church, 1 school; all burned.

Saradja, (Sagyr-Hodja:) 34 houses; partly burned.

Golak: 25 houses; all burned.

Tekir: 21 houses; all burned.

Leshniko: 120 houses; all burned; 20 killed.

Aladjalar: 20 Bulgarian, 5 Gypsy houses; all burned.

Kara-Ilias: 46 houses; all burned.

Kula: 16 houses; all burned.

Akadji: 58 houses; all burned.

Liakhovo: 47 houses; all burned.

Zeratsevo: 40 houses; nearly all burned.

Kavak-Déré: All burned.

I am told of three or four other villages besides, but I have been able to learn no particulars concerning them. Very many others were pillaged, and some completely sacked. In this district there were also pillaged and destroyed four monasteries: St. Feodor, near Perushtitsa; that of the Panagia, and that of the Bezsretrennitsi, (Saints Kosma and Damian,) near Kretshina, and that of St. Nicholas, near Kaloyerovo. In each of these there was some loss of life.

In the district of Sliven there was but one village destroyed.

Boyadjik: 140 houses, 1 church, 1 school. All but 20 houses burned; 170 killed, by official Turkish account; probably many more.

In the district of Tirnovo there were destroyed—

Novo-Selo: 1,200 houses. Burned, 710 houses, 2 churches, 2 schools, and convent; 691 killed.

Gabeni: 1,200 houses; 69 burned, 336 pillaged; 20 killed; 3 gypsies killed in the neighborhood, probably by insurgents.

Batoshevo: 600 houses. Burned, 60, besides 5 mills, church, and school. Monastery sacked and partly burned; 111 killed.

Kupen: 80 houses. Burned, 12 houses; all pillaged; 12 killed.

Kravenik: 270 houses. Burned, 141 houses, church, and school; 60 killed.

Gentchevo-Mahallé: 15 houses burned; 5 killed.

Novo-Mahallé, (Yeni Mahallé:) 480 houses; 20 houses, 1 school burned; church and most houses pillaged; 17 killed.

Estura, (Yantra:) 100 houses. Many plundered, including school; 4 burned; 2 killed.

Dushovo: Village chiefly Turkish; 20 Bulgarian houses, all burned; 3 killed.

In each of many small villages, such as Yoftchutsi, Gazurnitzi,

Vartchoftsi, Zeleno-Drevo, etc., a few houses were burned and three or four people killed. Many shepherds in the mountains were also killed and their huts burned.

Besides the convent of the Holy Trinity, at Novo-Selo, and the monastery of the Assumption, at Batoshevo, the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel, at Drenovo, was destroyed, when about 100 persons were killed. The Turkish authorities state that nine or ten soldiers and bashi-bazouks were killed during the siege. Some villages were destroyed and many people killed in other parts of the vilayet of the Danube, and during the pursuit of the band of insurgents, coming from Roumania, that landed from the steamer Radetski near Kaslandi. Many more were killed and many houses plundered, but, as I made no local examination, I am unable to give details concerning these occurrences.

In many districts of Macedonia, notably those of Seres, Nevrokop, and Raslug, the Bulgarian villages were plundered by bands of bashi-bazouks.

Of the state of affairs in the vilayet of Sophia, which has been represented to me as very bad, I have been able to get little exact information. The following villages, all in close proximity to Koprivtchitsa and Panagurishta, suffered greatly:

Rakovitsa: 223 houses; 212 burned by Hafiz Pasha; 36 killed.

Kamenitsa: 53 houses; 20 burned; many children missing.

Smolsko: 280 houses; 27 burned; 13 killed.

Mukhovo, (Tafon:) 230 houses; 160 burned by Hafiz Pasha; 59 killed.

Raslovitsa: 150 houses; all burned.

Bielitsa: burned.

In the district of Pirot (Shahrkeni), I am informed, from a very credible source, that forty-two villages were destroyed, chiefly at the time of the insurrection, though the work of murder and pillage continued for months after. Thirty-two of them are Tzervinchivo, Koumanovo, Tzernoklischté, Vranischte, Sinetze, Tzerchiantzi, Osmokovo, Linbatovitza, Kilné, Dol, Moklischte, Kine, Dolmi, Dolna Glama, Babine-Kam, Koza, Vitanovitzi, Mirinoditzi, Paege, Orla, Bazovine, Pagodéche, Tzerovo, Chougrime,

Mirkovitzi, Roudene, Zasnovitzi, Galovine, Izvor, Chestigabére, Kaina, Baltoberilovitzi, Toplidol, and Zaskovitzi. The convent of Tmiski was also destroyed.

In the districts to which I paid particular attention, *i. e.*, those of Philippopolis, Sliven, and Tirnovo, and the neighboring part of the province of Sophia, there were therefore seventy-nine villages wholly or partially burned, besides very many pillaged. At least 9,000 houses were burned, and taking the average of eight to a Bulgarian house, 72,000 persons were left without roof or shelter. According to the figures I have given above, 10,984 persons were killed. Many more were killed in the roads, in the fields, and in the mountains, of whom there is no record or count, and I think, therefore, I am not wrong in estimating the total number of killed at about 15,000. Many more died subsequently from disease and exposure and in prison.

The violations of women, and the instances of cruelty and barbarity were so numerous, that it has been impossible for me to do more than hint at them. There is scarcely one of the villages in the above list that could not show, on a small scale, what occurred at Panagurishta on a large scale.

The burning of these villages and the murders and atrocities committed were clearly unnecessary for the suppression of the insurrection; for it was an insignificant rebellion at the best, and the villagers generally surrendered at the first summons.

Nor can they be justified by the state of panic; for, as I have shown, that was over before the troops set out on their campaign. An attempt, however, has been made, and not by Turks alone, to defend and palliate these acts, on the ground of previous outrages, which it is alleged were committed by Bulgarians. I have carefully investigated this point, and I am unable to find that the Bulgarians committed any atrocities or outrages or any acts which deserve that name. I have not been able to find that (as was stated) the insurgents set fire to Bulgarian villages for the purpose of inciting the inhabitants to revolt; nor, except in two cases, have I found that the insurgents set fire to villages inhabited by Turks. One of these was Streltcha, where the Turkish authorities alleged that the band from Panagurishta set fire to some of the Turkish houses for the purpose of overpowering the Turks;

and also to the Bulgarian houses for the purpose of rousing the Bulgarians. The proof of this is very weak; but still it is possible. The other village to which I referred was that called Urutsi, divided into the four quarters (mahallés) of Duvanla, Orutchlu, Oktchulu, and Jaffarla, comprising in all 155 houses and a little over 500 inhabitants. This village, inhabited exclusively by Turks, was partly burned, and the Turks state that five of the inhabitants were killed. The Bulgarians say that Benkofsky, with some of his band, went from Panagurishta to Urusti and burned five of the houses at the very outbreak of the insurrection, but that the others were burned by the bashi-bazouks from Tatar-Bazardjik, in order to induce the inhabitants of Urutsi to join them. This statement of the Bulgarians seems about as plausible as the statement of the Turks that the insurgents burned some of the Bulgarian villages, and no more.

I vainly tried to obtain from the Turkish officials a list of the outrages which they said were committed by the Bulgarians at the beginning of the insurrection, but I could hear nothing but vague statements, which, on investigation, were never proved. I was told by Kiani Pasha that the insurgents killed the wife and daughter of the mudir of Koprivtchitsa; but this mudir had no daughter, and his wife had remained at Eski-zagra, where she still resides. I was also told of the murder of the wife of the mudir of Panagurishta, but at the time mentioned this village had no mudir. The stories that a Turk at Klissura was burned alive and then stoned, that a boy was flayed, that a Mussulman was burned at Oktchula, and that fearful outrages were perpetrated on a woman at Bratsigovo, all rested on no foundation. In general, on the spot where such occurrences were said to have taken place, it was impossible to find any evidence in support of them, even from the Turks. I found that the further I went from the disturbed district, the greater and more exaggerated became the stories of the outrages committed by the Bulgarians. I heard far more about them even in Adrianople than in Philippopolis, and in Constantinople than in Adrianople. The report of the special Turkish commissioner, Edib Effendi, contains statements on this point, as on every other, which are utterly unfounded by fact, and the whole report may be characterized as a tissue

of falsehood. I was referred for information with regard to these outrages to Hafuz Nuri Effendi, a leading Turk of Philippopolis. While he mentioned two or three outrages, he evidently did not believe in them, and he admitted that they had never been proved to him. He placed the number of Mussulmans, including gypsies, killed during the troubles at 153, of whom 12 were women and children, the word "children" being taken to mean any one under twenty years of age. The highest number fixed for the Mussulmans killed, as stated to me in different places by Mussulmans, before and during the insurrection, is 174. I have myself been able to obtain proof of the death of only 115, as in the following table:

Place.	Turkish Statement.		Proved to me.
	Men.	Women and Children.	Persons.
Perushtitsa	3	.....	2
Klissura	14	.....	14
Panagurishta	12	2	12
Koprivtchitsa	71	1	49
Sindjuli	26	4	20
Staro Novo Selo.		.....	2
Bellova	2	3	.....
Kaloyerovo	6	2	2
Bratsigovo	.....	.....	.....
Letsitchevo	5	.....	.....
Radulovo	2	.....	5
Tchanaktchi	4	.....	.....
Batak	3	.....	.....
Urutsi	5	.....	.....
Drenovo	9	.....	9
	162	12	115

I was unable to assure myself that more than two Mussulman women had been killed at Panagurishta, and these were killed in fight. Neither Turkish women nor Turkish children were killed in cold blood. No Mussulman women were violated. No Mussulmans were tortured. No purely Turkish village, with the exception of Urutsi, was attacked or burned. No Mussulman house was pillaged; no mosque was desecrated.

The Turks, who were most guilty of these massacres and outrages, and who richly deserved the severest punishment, a punishment which might have very salutary consequences for the order and quiet of the country, are as follows:

* * * * *

It has been claimed that the massacres and outrages in Bulgaria were not ordered by the Porte, and that it even had no knowledge of them.

* * * * *

However that may be, it is certain that nearly all those who particularly distinguished themselves for their cruelty and barbarity were rewarded, decorated, or promoted by the Porte, or have since held high positions in the army. On the contrary, an attempt has been made to punish some of those who did their best to act in a legal manner and to spare innocent men.

I am, etc.,

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

Hon. HORACE MAYNARD,
U. S. Minister Plenipotentiary,
Constantinople.

The facts in relation to these outrages were suppressed and denied both by the Turkish government and its friends in England, as long as it was possible to conceal them, but after the first report of Mr. Schuyler, which was made August 10th, and that of Mr. Walter Baring, a secretary of the English Legation, who also visited the scenes of the massacres, which appeared soon after, it was impossible longer to deny them, though the Turkish government, true to its old character (and true to nothing else), published a false report, which they pretended was that of an eye-witness. The storm of indignation which followed the publication of the reports of Messrs. Schuyler and Baring, in England, was so terrible, that the ministry were compelled to manifest their displeasure to the Turks in very strong terms; but it was not till some months later that they

abandoned the idea of rendering them aid, if Russia should declare war against Turkey, and even while we write (in the middle of June, 1877), there is still danger of Great Britain's being drawn into the war, as a passive, if not an active ally of Turkey.

While this horrible massacre was yet in progress, the Sultan Abdul Aziz was hastening to the end of his career and of his life. The fanatical Softas had become the real masters of Constantinople, and in their blind fury, no man's life or position was secure for a moment. The French and German Consuls at Salonica were murdered; and the Softas, having been joined by some of the Cabinet, notably, Midhat Pasha and Hussein Avni Pasha, these ministers proceeded to the palace of Abdul Aziz, on the 30th of May, and informed him that he was deposed. Seven days later, the unfortunate Sultan died by his own hand. Murad V., his nephew and successor, proved equally incapable as a ruler, and was deposed August 31st, and his brother, Abdul Hamid, crowned his successor, on the 7th of September, 1876. But the vengeance of the Almighty had already fallen upon some of the most guilty of those who had deposed Abdul Aziz, and had been the cause of his death. Hussein Avni Pasha, the Minister of War, a man who had been the prime mover in the bloody tragedy in Bulgaria, who had sent the bashi-bazouks there, and had rewarded their brutal leaders for their horrible crimes; and Raschid Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had aided him in this nefarious work, were both assassinated on the 15th of June, by Hassan Bey, a Turkish officer of Circassian birth, at the country house of Midhat Pasha, who himself had a narrow escape from death. Hassan Bey was captured and executed soon after.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MILITARY AND FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CONTENDING NATIONS AT THE DECLARATION OF THE WAR.

SINCE the Crimean War (1853–1856) all the great powers of Europe have been compelled by their jealousy of each other, and their anxiety in regard to the "balance of power," which was so frequently disturbed, to maintain immense armies and navies. The expense of these has been so enormous that in many of the States the national debt has been largely increased, and in all, the burden of taxation has been almost intolerable. In that time there have been three wars, which have involved two or more of the great powers in Europe, besides several lesser conflicts or insurrections among the smaller States, and wars in Central Asia, in China, in Cochin China, in Burmah, in Abyssinia, and in Ashantee, in which one or more of the European powers was engaged. The three European wars were the war of 1859, in which Austria, on one side, and Italy and France, on the other, were the parties engaged; the Austro-Prussian, or Seven Weeks' War of 1866, in which the antagonistic parties were Austria, aided by some of the South German States, and Prussia, with the greater part of the North German Confederation; and the Franco-German War of 1870–71, between France and Prussia, in which also the other German States supported Prussia. In all these conflicts it was with great difficulty that the neutrality of the other leading States of Europe was maintained; their vast preparations for

war, making the pressure for participation in the conflict almost irresistible.

This great evil of keeping up an immense war force in times of peace was mainly the fault of two great nations—France, whose Emperor, Napoleon III., could in no other way maintain himself upon the throne he had usurped, than by keeping all Europe in terror, by his vast preparations for war, and his threatening attitude toward other nations whenever there was any possibility of disturbance at home; and Russia, whose already great territory, population, and resources only inflamed her greed for the entire control of the lands bordering on the Black Sea, and the possession of Constantinople, on which she had for two hundred years looked with longing eyes.

Alexander II., the present Czar of Russia, is unquestionably a man of peaceful inclinations; he has far less ambition than his father or uncle, or than his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas. His tastes incline him to promote rather the culture, intelligence, and material progress of his subjects; but more than once in this period of twenty years, has the pressure of his kinsmen, his statesmen, and his military leaders been so strong, that his movements southward and eastward have roused the apprehension of all Europe; while his immense army has made the nations of Western Europe eager for his alliance, or at least his neutrality, in their own conflicts.

Turkey has been seriously affected by her apprehensions of the military power of her northern neighbor. While her resources were greatly inferior to those of Russia, she has expended vast sums, mostly borrowed, in the increase of her navy, and in bringing it to a high state of efficiency, while she has also maintained, at immense

cost, a standing army which was much too large for her revenues.

Austria-Hungary has been affected by the great military and naval strength of the two nations, Russia and Turkey, whose territory joined hers; and though her resources were much reduced by the wars of 1859 and 1866, in both of which she was defeated, she has increased her national debt and her taxation, by her struggles to maintain an army and navy commensurate with her peril, and with the force which might be brought against her by either of her neighbors. She had an additional cause of disquiet in the diversity of the races under her sway. The German portion of her people, which is the second in numbers of the three great races which people the empire, have some leaning toward Russia, but would be content to be under the control of their rulers in case of war; the Sclavonian races—Serbs, Croatians, Bohemians, Moravians, Tzechs, etc.—constituting nearly 18,000,000 of her population, have a national affinity for Russia (which is largely Sclavonic), and would sympathize with her in the event of war; while the Magyars of Hungary, numbering nearly 8,000,000, a brave and chivalrous people, allied by race to the Turks, and bitterly hostile to Russia, which aided Austria in overthrowing their Republic in 1848, would insist on rendering assistance to Turkey.

Italy, which was one of the allies of Turkey in 1854, has now also a divided interest, and has been compelled by her relations to the adjacent States to keep up an armament beyond her means. Even the little kingdom of Greece, the protected or tributary States of Roumania and Servia, and the gallant little independent State of Montenegro, have felt themselves compelled by their situation to put their war forces on a footing as large in

proportion to their population, and as much beyond their revenues, as the more populous States.

The military, naval, and financial condition of Germany, France, and Great Britain, do not concern us in this connection, as we are only considering now the nations and States immediately involved in the war at its commencement.

Let us then ascertain, first, the condition of Russia in respect of her military and naval strength, and her financial resources. Prince Gortschakoff is reported to have said to the representative of one of the Danubian principalities, in the winter of 1875–6, that "Russia did not wish to go to war with Turkey at present, that they were not sufficiently prepared as yet, but that within three years from that time they would be ready." It matters very little whether the shrewd and sagacious statesman really uttered these words or not, they undoubtedly expressed the fact, in regard to the condition of the country.

The population of Russia in Europe, in 1870, was stated to be 78,281,447, and of Asiatic Russia, a year or two later, 7,229,495. By the annexation of some of the khanates of Central Asia, it has somewhat increased since that time.

The army has always been large, and up to 1873 consisted of: 1, the regular army, which included the field-troops or active army, the reserve, and the sedentary or local troops; 2, the irregular army, which consisted of the Cossacks, mostly cavalry, and accustomed to furnish themselves, and fight in their own way; 3, the Imperial militia or general levy.

In 1871, a new system of organizing the army was published, and the next year it was put in operation. It is based on the principle of the compulsory military

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service of every able-bodied Russian of military age, with no power to provide a substitute. The military age is from the twenty-first to the forty-first year, and requires six years to be spent in active service, nine years in the reserve, which is divided into two classes, those who in time of war make up the losses of the army, and those who are detailed to garrison duty. After fifteen years of service, as above described, the soldier passes into the Reichswehr or veteran corps, which also includes all men not in the annual contingents, which cannot be called out in time of peace, and even in war are local or garrison troops.

To enable the educated classes to free themselves from compulsory conscription, and also to provide the requisite number of officers and persons fit to serve in the supplementary branches, young men possessed of a certain degree of education are permitted to enter the army as volunteers when they have completed their seventeenth year. They are only held to active service for a short time, and then pass over to the reserve after undergoing a military examination of an inferior degree, or pass an officer's examination, and become either army officers or reserve officers.

The Cossacks are still excepted from this conscription, but are enlisted on a system of their own, and form a very efficient, though exceedingly irregular body of cavalry.

Under this law the number of men of military age is about six millions. One third of these, in round numbers, are supposed to be physically incapacitated for service, either from small stature or other causes.

The remainder, 4,000,000, is a much larger military force than any country could maintain, and from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 are reckoned as belonging to the Reichswehr or veterans, and the Imperial militia or

reserves, only to be brought out in a great crisis. Excluding these, the military force when fully organized should stand as follows:

Field Army	810,000
Army of the First Reserve	130,000
Army of the Second Reserve	280,000
Last Reserve, *i. e.*, those who have served fifteen years	600,000
Cossacks	180,000
	2,000,000

The *United Service Magazine* stated the actual forces of the Russian army at the beginning of 1877 as follows:

Infantry, 682 battalions	679,000
Reserve, 168 battalions	168,000
Cavalry, 932 regiments	126,000
Artillery, 346 batteries, 2,672 pieces	87,000
Sappers, engineers, etc., 17 battalions	14,340
Total	1,074,340
To these are to be added, at least, for Cossack irregulars	100,000
Total	1,174,340

The report of the ministry of war for 1876, gives the nominal strength of the army on the war footing (which possibly included the troops in Finland, which are under a different military system, but excluded the Cossacks) at 39,380 officers, and 1,173,879 rank and file, men of all arms, making a total of 1,213,259. As, however, a considerable number of these troops must be employed in local, frontier, and garrison service in remote portions of the empire, the *United Service Magazine* is probably correct in estimating the total of the active army at

907,000 men, and perhaps also in the estimate that 557,000 will be effective for service in the field in the various armies which are gathered at the east and west of the Black Sea. By calling out the reserves the number can readily be increased to two millions, if the government can equip and feed them.*

The infantry are armed with two kinds of breech-loading rifles, mainly, we believe, of the Snider-Henry and the Remington patterns, and will require some time to become familiar with their weapons, though the remarkable mechanical ingenuity of the average Russian peasant, will enable them to acquire this knowledge more readily than usual. The Cossack is a walking, or rather riding, arsenal. His spear or lance, which he manages with great dexterity, is constantly in his hand, and beside this he wears a sword, has a carbine on his back, a revolver in his belt, and a long knife in his boot. The discipline of the regular army, though still strict, is much less severe and tyrannical than it was twenty years ago. At that time the common punishment of the private soldier, for malingering or failure to keep up on the march, was that known as "running the ranks." The culprit's back was stripped, his hands tied to the muzzle of his musket, the butt of which was raised so that the point of the bayonet touched the flesh directly over his heart, and his company being drawn up in two long, open lines, and every man provided with a long, tough, flexible rod, were compelled to strike him on the naked back as he was led slowly down the ranks, being drawn forward by the butt of his gun. This cruel punishment is now abolished.

* It is now announced that the Russian forces actually under arms in the vicinity of the Danube number 400,000 men, and that the force east of the Black Sea is 200,000 more.

The Russian has many good qualities as a soldier. He is hardy, patient, obedient, and faithful to his Emperor. When the Czar proclaims that the war is a holy one for the church, the cross, and the holy doctrines, the Russian soldier becomes a fanatic, though still showing his fanaticism in a quiet way, by his endurance, his indomitable persistency, and his acceptance of death rather than surrender. The Russian soldier is best in a defensive position. He has not the *élan*, the dash of the French or Turkish soldier, but he will stand by his colors and die sooner than retreat.

Russia does not rank as a naval power of the first class. This is quite as much the fault of her position, as of any defect in her administration. She has long struggled to obtain the exclusive control of the Black Sea, but unsuccessfully, and to all intents and purposes has been restricted to the Baltic and North Seas, where for half the year her fleets are icebound. In March, 1876, the returns to the Minister of Marine were, for the Baltic fleet, 77 men-of-war (including under this term vessels of all descriptions), of which 25 were iron-clads, five of which ranged from 4,500 to 10,000 tons, and the rest were all small, and none of the 25 except the Peter the Great, a mastless turret ship, had armor exceeding six inches in thickness, and only four had heavy guns. The entire number of officers and men of all ranks and service was 2,778. Of the iron-clads very few are seaworthy, and still fewer possess much merit as fighting ships. Some of the wooden armor-plated ships, like the Svetlana, which has recently been in our waters, are better, both in speed and power of resistance, than the iron-clads proper, but they have light guns.

The Black Sea fleet consisted nominally of nine vessels; but of these the largest iron-clad gunboats are dangerous

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to handle, and would probably do more execution among their own crews than on the enemy.

The remainder of the naval vessels are in the White Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Sea of Aral, and on the Siberian coast, and cannot do much service. The Turkish navy is much superior to the Russian, as we shall presently see.

RAILWAYS.—During the past twenty years, the Russian government has covered the southern and central portions of European Russia with a network of railways, partly by building them herself; partly by granting aid to railway companies, whose charters run from 37 to 85 years, and all of which contain provisions for their military use by the government. These railways are so constructed as to be readily connected with the Roumanian railways, and thus troops can be brought quickly to the lower Danube. In 1876, there were about 18,000 miles of completed railways in Russia, of which more than 16,000 was in European Russia. The cost of these railways was nearly $1,200,000,000, of which about $550,000,000 was furnished by the government.

The FINANCES of Russia are not in a good condition. For many years past, even in times of profound peace, the annual expenditures have exceeded the receipts by from $5,000,000 to $15,000,000, only three years of the last ten having shown a balance on the right side, and that a very trifling one. The budget for 1876, however, estimated the surplus of revenue for that year at about $10,000,000, though extraordinary expenses, connected with the threatened war, may have exhausted this and substituted a deficiency, as in so many previous cases. The usual annual expenditure ranges from $365,000,000 to $407,000,000, and has been considerably increased by the aid afforded to railways by the government.

The estimated amount of the entire public debt of Russia, January 1, 1876, was $1,254,810,000, = 1,673,080,000 roubles, of which $915,455,000, = 1,220,606,667 roubles, bore interest, and $339,355,000, = 452,473,333 roubles, did not bear interest. Aside from this, there were circulating throughout the empire, at the same time, bank-notes of the Bank of Russia, having a forced circulation, and rating at 10 or 15 per cent. below the par of specie, to the amount of $565,223,915, = 797,313,480 roubles. There was also the debt of the Grand Duchy of Finland (of which the Czar is Grand Duke), amounting to $32,175,000, or 45,000,000 roubles. The entire national debt of all classes, then, is $1,852,208,915, = 2,515,393,480 roubles. Since January, 1876, the Russian government has attempted to negotiate two loans, one a foreign loan of uncertain amount through Amsterdam bankers, the other a home loan, offered to the people, like the French loans, of 73,000,000 roubles, or $54,750,000. This was taken up slowly, though very possibly now that the war is inaugurated, and the enthusiasm and religious zeal of the people is aroused, a second loan of larger amount, which will surely be needed, may be absorbed more readily. The credit of Russia abroad, is not so high as her great resources would warrant, possibly owing to some irregularity in the payment of her interest, and lack of good financial management in the payment of loans, as they fell due.

Her largest annual expenditure, over $135,000,000 in time of peace, is for her army, to which the navy adds about $19,000,000. The interest on her national debt absorbs over $81,000,000. These are the heaviest items. Public instruction, or, as we should say, education, absorbs but about $11,250,000, considerably less than is expended by the State of New York, though education is really advancing in Russia.

II. The area and population, and the military, naval, and financial condition of TURKEY next demand our attention. The area of the Turkish empire, though much less than that of European Russia, is yet nearly six times as large as that of any other European power, and the European portion of the empire occupies the sixth rank among the States of Europe. We have, however, to consider the whole Turkish empire, inasmuch as it is all involved in the war which commenced in April, 1877. The most recent authorities tell us that the entire area of the Turkish empire is estimated at 1,742,874 English square miles; of which 138,264 is the extent of European Turkey; 660,870 the area of Asiatic Turkey, and 943,740 that of African Turkey. The population of the empire is estimated at 28,165,000, though there has been no complete census taken for many years. Of these it is supposed that European Turkey has 8,315,000, or about sixty persons to the square mile; Asiatic Turkey, 16,050,000, about twenty-four to the square mile; and Turkey in Africa, 3,800,000, or about four to the square mile.

This population is very far from being homogeneous. There are at least sixteen different races or nationalities, all rendering a nominal allegiance to the Sultan and the Ottoman Porte, though many of them entertain the most bitter hatred for each other. Of the eleven races found in European Turkey, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, who has spent many years in that country, gives the following account: "We find here the following races and religions: (1) The Sclaves, who are in religion Greek, Catholic, and Mahometan; (2) the Hellenes, who are Greek with a few Catholics; (3) the Latin tribes in Albania, who are Catholic, together with Albanians of the same region, who are Greek, Mahometan, and Catho-

lic; (4) the Bulgars, who are Greek, Catholic, and Mahometan; (5) the Armenians, who are Gregorians and Catholics, the latter subdivided into Hassounites and anti-Hassounites; (6) the Koutzo Wallacks, who are of gypsy Wallachian origin, and are of the Greek Church; (7) the Osmanlis, who are Mahometans; (8) the Jews; (9) the Tartars, exiles from the Crimea, Mahometans; (10) the Circassians, exiles from Circassia, Mahometans; and (11) ordinary gypsies.

These eleven races hate each other on religious grounds in the following directions: The Catholic and Greek Sclaves of Bosnia and Herzegovina are in hot and constant antagonism; the Mahometan Sclave of the same provinces dislikes and despises both. The same kind of antagonism exists in Bulgaria, but the most inveterate hatred is that which is felt by the Hellenes for the Sclaves, and *vice versa*. This is political as well as religious, and arises from the latent feeling that, should the Christian ever get the upper hand in Turkey in Europe, the real struggle for supremacy will be between these two races. The Hellenes entertain an antipathy for Catholics and Mahometans wherever they are found, second only to their hatred of the Sclave. Wherever the Catholics are numerous enough, they indulge chiefly in persecution of the Greeks and Gregorian Armenians, naturally, also, abhorring the Mahometan. An intense feeling of bitterness exists between the Gregorian Armenians, who owe allegiance to the Patriarch at Etzmiazin, and the Catholic Armenians; also between the Hassounites and anti-Hassounites. Christians of all these denominations oppress the Jews whenever they get a chance, and are cordially detested by the latter in return. The gypsies wander about, with their hands, in their small way, against every man. The Circassians

GROUP OF

are by no means quiet neighbors; and the Mahometans, with tolerable impartiality, oppress everybody.

The races and religions of Asiatic Turkey are not less diverse, and somewhat more savage in their character and hatred of each other. They include, (1) the Osmanlis, or Turks proper, who are there the most numerous race; (2) Greeks, of whom there are about 1,000,000; (3) Armenians, about 2,000,000; (4) Jews, about 80,000; (5) Tartars, Mahometans in religion, but numbering only about 20,000; (6) Arabs, Mahometans, who are very numerous in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, their number being estimated at 885,000; (7) Syrians, mostly Christians, but divided into Maronites, Roman Catholics, Greek Church, Armenians and Protestants. Their number hardly exceeds 175,000; (8) Chaldeans, found mainly in Mesopotamia, and numbering, perhaps, 25,000; (9) Nestorians, Christians, though, like the Armenians and Bulgarians, after a corrupt fashion, and having among them also some Protestants. Their numbers do not exceed 25,000 or 30,000; (10) Kurds or Koords, occupying the mountainous regions of Eastern Turkey, nominally Mahometans, but really more Pagan than Mahometan, 70,000 or 75,000 in number; (11) Druses, found mainly in the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon range, perhaps 80,000 in number, and neither Mahometans, Christians, nor idolaters; (12) a few Turkomans in the extreme East, a mixed race of Tartar and Iranian blood, the Tartar predominating, and Mahometans in faith; (13) some Persians and Circassians in the north-east, Mahometan in religion, but Caucasian in race. We have, then, in this region of Asiatic Turkey, Caucasians of several families, as Arabs, Turks, Persians, Circassians, Syrians, Georgians, Kurds, Armenians—Mongols also, of several families, as Tartars, Turkomans, and possibly

Druses; two or three families of the Semitic race, as Jews, Chaldeans, etc., and in smaller numbers, two or three families of the African races.

The MILITARY condition of Turkey is not very satisfactory. The conflicting races and religions of which we have spoken compel her now, as in the past, to employ Mahometans only as soldiers; the Christians and Pagans are liable to conscription, but are required to exempt themselves from service by the payment of a war-tax. Like Russia, she has recently been reorganizing her army, and the new system, when in working order, was expected to yield a nominal force of 702,000 troops, divided into, (1) the *Nizam*, or active army, of 150,000 men, who serve four years for infantry and five for cavalry and artillery; (2) the *Ihtiat*, or first reserve, of 60,000 men, those who have served in the Nizam passing into this for two years, if in the infantry, or one year in cavalry and artillery. Thence they pass, (3) into the *Redif*, or second reserve, which is divided into two classes, each of three years. The Redif, it was estimated, would number 192,000 men. After these twelve years of service the Turkish soldier passes (4) into the *Mustafiz*, or territorial militia, for eight years more, and this Mustafiz it was estimated would number 300,000 men. There are also three classes of irregular troops, (1) the Bashi-bazouks, the scum and offscouring of the Oriental cities, gathered from the prisons, jails, and slums, the vilest wretches to be found, without military ability, knowledge, or courage, and fit only for the work of murder, lust, and rapine, in which they were engaged in the spring and summer of 1876 in Bulgaria; (2) the Spahis, volunteer cavalry, mostly Arabs, better than the preceding, and perhaps a fair match for the Cossacks of the Russian army; and (3) the Bedouin, nomadic Arabs, mainly mounted on camels, and of some

value as irregulars, in connection with the military operations in Asia. In all, there will probably be about 60,000 of these irregular troops.

There will be small contingents from Egypt and Tunis, probably not more than 20,000, or possibly 24,000 from both. The *United Service Magazine* estimates the entire Ottoman force which can be brought into the field at not more than 365,000 men, of which force 160,000 will probably be the largest number that can be brought into service in Europe; and 200,000 or a little more in Asia. Her regular cavalry are well mounted, and the Turk has a natural adaptation to this arm of the service; but they are poorly equipped and officered, and have had but indifferent training. The irregular cavalry will probably do most of the scouting duty. The artillery is superior to the other arms of the service. It has, according to W. H. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, six line-regiments of 12 batteries each, about 8,500 men, 9,258 horses, and 432 guns, and a reserve regiment of 13 battalions, with 1,600 horses and 78 guns; but among the 510 guns are many old pieces, while rifled guns and smooth bores, breech-loaders and muzzle-loaders are often found in the same battery.

The infantry are not well trained, and have a great variety of arms, though the American breech-loading rifles, of the Providence pattern, predominate. There is no organized train or commissariat service, and the sanitary service, though well planned, has not a satisfactory organization for field duty. Some of the officers of the Turkish army in Europe are English and French, and are accomplished commanders; but the lack of money for paying the troops, and the general want of system in the army administration, must seriously interfere with the efficiency of the army.

There is also, among the "Old Turks," a decided aversion to serving under Christian officers, for whom they entertain the greatest contempt; and the English and French officers find themselves constantly snubbed and annoyed by this fanatical class, who have several representatives in the Ottoman Cabinet.

To the other bodies of troops which the Sultan can make available in the present war, may be added the zaptiehs, or imperial police. These are well disciplined, and, to a great extent, recruited from the best troops of the regular army. This force of zaptiehs, which has now been placed under the orders of Colonel Valentine Baker, brother of Sir Samuel Baker, is organized into companies, battalions, and regiments. Each battalion has one company mounted. The men of the regiment at Constantinople are selected to form a superior force for the capital, from the best non-commissioned officers of the army. It is supposed that the force of zaptiehs available in war throughout the empire, will be nearly 30,000 strong. The pay and clothing of this force, like that of the troops, are heavily in arrear; but it is remarkable how few complaints are made by the Christian rayahs (villagers) of Turkey of the conduct of these zaptiehs, who have every temptation to plunder.

The greatest difficulty with the Turkish army and the most fatal impediment to its success, is not the poverty of its commissariat, nor the ignorance and fanaticism of the rank and file; but it is that they have and can have few efficient officers. All the higher officers reach their position not by merit, but by interest. To be connected by blood or by marriage with a Grand Vizier, or minister, or even a superior official of one of the great departments of State, is sufficient to insure rapid promotion in the army. Still better is it to be able to approach, either by means of money, or some method of less direct bribery, the ear of

a favorite Sultana. The appointment of these high officers to commands, entirely apart from all considerations of their fitness, is necessarily fatal to the successful conduct of great operations in war; and more so in the Turkish army than elsewhere, because there, there is no staff to make up by their skill and military training, for the incompetency of their superiors.

The Turkish soldier is not as patient or stubborn a fighter as the Russian, nor is he so free from despondency or liability to panic; but when roused to fanaticism by an appeal to his faith in the Prophet, he is capable of the most extraordinary deeds of daring, and possesses an amount of dash which many times leads on to victory. He is, however, cruel and vindictive, and reluctant to show mercy to a fallen foe.

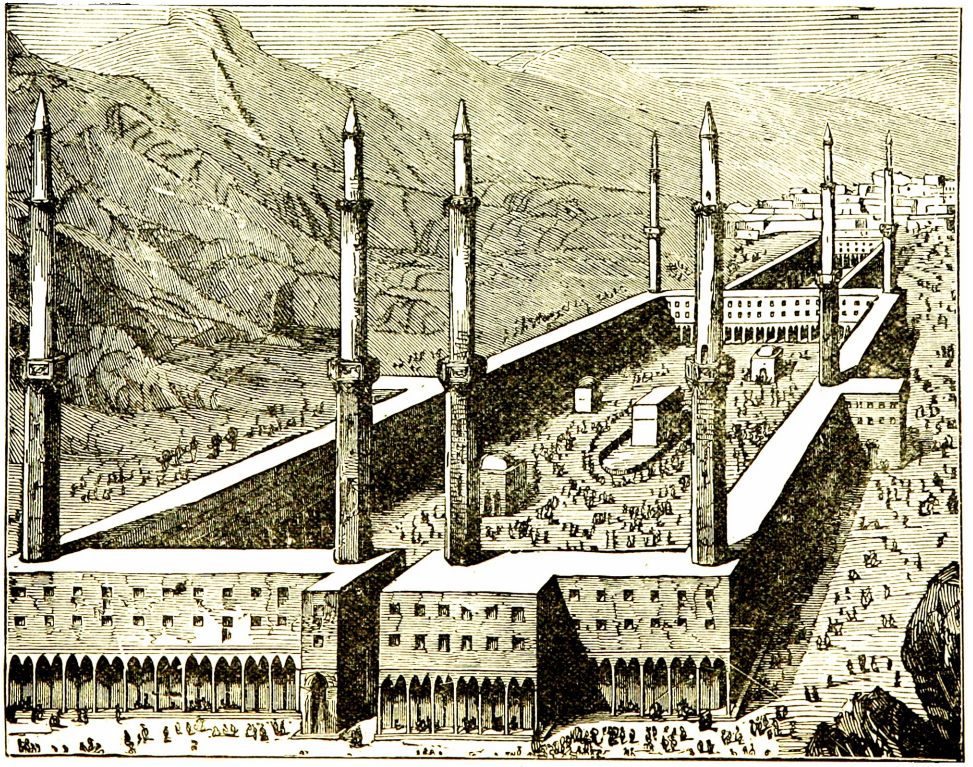
In this war the Turks have one advantage, which in part compensates for their inferior numbers—at all points, they have the inside lines, and are fighting on their own soil, and with friends at their back, in the people who inhabit their battle-grounds. Whether they will have allies remains to be seen; possibly the Hungarians may come to their aid, and Great Britain may yield them a passive if not an active support. It is possible, also, that some of the Mahometan nations of the East may be drawn, by the peril of their common faith, to come to their help. But an aggressive war, such as Russia is waging, requires a much larger force than a defensive one; and that superior force, Russia, especially with the assistance of her allies, will possess.

The Turkish navy is in much better condition than her army, and having control of the Black Sea, and to some extent of the lower Danube, adds greatly to her power of resistance and of attack. She has twenty iron-clads, 7 of them frigates, and carrying from 16 to 21 guns of large caliber, 8 corvettes, also well armed,

and 5 gunboats armed with rifled guns of 9-inch bore. She has also eighty steamships, mostly of recent build and excellent model. Her officers are some of them, English, Admiral Hobart Pasha being, till recently, an officer of the English navy, and a man of great skill, energy, and daring. He has induced the Turkish government to make many beneficent reforms in their navy, but the administrative department is still in confusion, and lacks the necessary stores.

The FINANCES of Turkey are now, as they have been for some years, in a deplorable condition. Since 1850 there has been an annual deficit in her revenues. This deficit has often reached 35 to 40 millions of dollars. The actual revenue of the year 1875–6 is said to have been only about $76,500,000, while the expenditure increased by the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina, amounted to $162,000,000, or more than double the revenue. The deficit for the year ending February, 1877, was probably still greater. The national debt is known to exceed $1,075,000,000, and after reducing the interest one-half the government decided not to pay even that half. Under these circumstances, it hardly need be said, that Turkish credit abroad is not very good. The Porte has, however, one resource, which may help it for a time. As the Sultan has proclaimed this a holy war, he has a right to call upon the mosques, which are most of them rich, to furnish him the means to carry on the war, and they will not refuse.* This provision may sustain his armies for a time, but if the war is protracted it must end in the complete bankruptcy of the nation. Of their national debt, from $750,000,000 to $800,000,000 is held in Great Britain,

* Since this was written, the Scherif of Mecca has placed at the disposal of the Sultan for this "Holy War" the accumulated treasures of the Kaaba—the holiest of Moslem shrines—which are said to amount to $50,000,000.



GREAT TEMPLE OF THE KAABA AT MECCA.

The western battle ground between the contending forces, must be on or near the Danube, and European Russia and European Turkey are separated from each other, and from Austria-Hungary, by three principalities; two of them lying on that river, and the third near the Adriatic, while by the two latter (Servia and Montenegro) Turkey is in part cut off from its provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of these principalities, two —Roumania and Servia—are virtually independent, but have been required hitherto to pay an annual tribute to Turkey. The third, Montenegro, is a mountainous region, with a poor soil, and not densely inhabited, but its indomitable inhabitants have, for centuries, retained their independence, and pay neither tax nor tribute to Turkey. In the conflict now in progress, their sympathies and their material aid, so far as possible, will be given to Russia; for none of them bear any good-will to Turkey. Let us, then, ascertain what will be the probable amount of this material aid.

ROUMANIA, which comprises the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and is better known as the "Danubian Principalities," lies wholly north of the Danube, is separated from Austria by the Carpathian Mountains, and from Russia by an arbitrary line of which the Pruth forms a part. It is a region well adapted for the growth of the cereals, which are largely cultivated there for export. Its area is 45,642 square miles, about the size of the State of New York, and it had, in 1873, a population of 5,073,000, of whom 2,618,136 were males, and 2,454,864 females—of these, it is said that nearly 200,000 are gypsies. Its domnu or prince is a German prince, of the Hohenzollern family. In time of peace, the Roumanian army consists of 22,463 effective infantry, and 12,184 cavalry, with 12,192 horses. By the mobilization of the

first reserve these numbers are doubled, and the prince has now an army of about 60,000 men well equipped and furnished in the field. This number might again be doubled if they could be equipped. But these troops have not a high reputation for bravery; and they are restrained from a very active campaign, by the threat of Austria to occupy their territory, if they join actively in the war. Roumania has, however, declared her absolute independence, and will at least become the passive, if not the active, coadjutor of Russia.

The finances of Roumania have not been well managed. The principalities have a national debt of about 107 millions of dollars, and while their annual revenue is about $18,200,000, their annual expenditure is about $19,400,000. The prince is somewhat too much inclined to play the soldier, and his capital, Bucharest, is a most voluptuous and immoral city.

The principality of Servia has an area of 16,600 square miles, and had in 1874 a population of 1,352,522—694,756 males and 657,766 females. It has a large gypsy population. Servia lies wholly south of the Danube, extending on that river from the mouth of the Timok to that of the Drina, and is bounded on the west by Bosnia. Its standing army consists of 4,000 troops, but a militia or reserve force exists, of 60,000 or 70,000 men. The Servian troops are of excellent character, but during their late war with Turkey, they had the misfortune to be badly commanded. Servia has thus far been held back from declaring war against Turkey, by both Russia and Austria; the former preferring a favoring neutrality and the latter threatening to take possession of her entire territory, if she declared war. She has, like Roumania, proclaimed her independence. Her population is mainly Sclavonic, though with some admixture of Rou-

manians, gypsies, Germans, etc. Her finances are in good condition, and she had no public debt until the Turkish war of last year.

MONTENEGRO, or the Black Mountain, is a very small principality, situated on the mountain of the same name, looking out upon the Adriatic, though having no seaport. Its area is only 1,770 square miles, a little larger than Rhode Island, and had, in 1871, 195,585 inhabitants, of whom it is said 21,850 were men capable of bearing arms. It has been engaged in almost constant conflicts with the Turks, and has always inflicted tenfold more injury on its adversary than it has received. Its little army is now at the service of the Russian Emperor if he needs it, and Austria cannot terrify the brave, fierce mountaineers, by any threats.

GREECE, the little kingdom which claims and holds the double peninsula and islands, which it held in the days of its ancient glory, is very certain to have a part in this war, from its situation, its old hatred of the Turks, and its religious sympathy with the Russians. It has an area of 19,941 square miles, about as large as New Hampshire and Vermont, and a population in 1870 of 1,457,864. This population is of a mixed character, and includes the descendants of the ancient Greeks, the Albanians, who are a Latin race, the gypsies, and some Turks, Armenians, etc. Its standing army consists in peace of 14,061 men, but can be largely increased in war time. It has a navy of 14 vessels; one, an excellent iron-clad. Its finances are not in a good condition. Its national debt, funded and floating, is more than $30,000,000, and its annual expenditures slightly exceed its revenues. Its position, and the daring and bravery of its people, would make its hostility to Turkey more to be

dreaded by that power, than the force it could bring into the field, or send forth by sea, would imply.

These four minor neighbors of Turkey, then, may be considered as unquestionably hostile in spirit to that power, and whether they observe an unfriendly neutrality toward her, or are actually engaged in war with her, their action is certain to be to her disadvantage.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EFFORTS OF DIPLOMATISTS TO PREVENT WAR.

THE longest period which had elapsed without war between Russia and Turkey, during the past three centuries, was that between the war of 1829–30 and the Crimean war, which commenced in October or November, 1853, and though that war was not specially favorable to Russian arms, the exhaustion which it produced, and the great changes involved in the emancipation of the serfs, had served to keep Russia quiet for a period of nearly twenty years, when events occurred which indicated the approach of another conflict between the two powers.

It has never been difficult to find reasons for a war between these two powers. The difference of race, of religion, of habits and manners; the irritable temper of the Ottoman Porte, and a vague uncertainty, born of its past experiences, as to its relations, at any given time, with the other European powers, and the prospect of support from them in a conflict; the consciousness of having alienated many of its friends by its cruelty, fanaticism, and corruption, and by its numberless outrages against decency and honor; and the intense jealousy and pride which make it always ready to take offense, even where none was intended; these are obvious reasons, why Turkey is always ready for war with her ancient foe.

On the other hand, Russia has a traditional longing for

Constantinople, and a still stronger desire to make the Black Sea a Russian lake, and the eastern shores of that sea, Russian territory. She wishes, and has made herself believe that she must have, the southern shore of the Black Sea, as far, at least, as Sinope, and the Turkish provinces of Erzerüm and Sivas; that she must have free ingress and egress through the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, whether for her mercantile navy, or her ships of war. It is also a particular grievance to her, that she has not a free command of the Danube, and of all its navigable mouths. She has, or thinks she has, other grievances, such as the treatment by the Turks of the Orthodox Greek Christians of the Bulgarian and Bosnian churches; but, it is to be observed in this connection, that the term *Christians*, when used by her diplomatists, means only the Christians of the Orthodox Greek Church; all other Christians are in her eyes, as truly heretics as the Grand Turk himself. Another grievance in the past has been, that the Holy Places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, at Bethany and Nablous and Nazareth, were not as accessible to a Russian as to a Turk; but that is now done away. There have been also numberless petty grievances, relative to the Suez Canal, the right of asylum, the forays of Circassians, etc., etc. So that, at all times, a pretext for war was not difficult to find, on either side, when wanted.

Yet it is an undoubted fact, that in the beginning of 1876, notwithstanding the then recent insurrection and putrages in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and the threatening attitude of Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro, neither of the two nations wanted war, or at least, immediate war. Not Russia, for her army had so recently been reorganized, and its administration and commissariat were in such an inchoate condition, that immediate war

for her meant defeat; nor were her finances, though improving, in a healthy state; and war, just then, meant bankruptcy. Not Turkey—for the administration of the weak and imbecile Abd-ul Aziz was drawing to a close; the finances could not be in a worse condition than they were; her European provinces were just ready for insurrection, and though her Asiatic *Vilayets* were in somewhat better condition, yet the war could not be confined to them; so for her, war meant national destruction. Austria, alarmed for the navigation of the Danube, and the uprising of her Sclavonic population in the event of war, on the one side, and the sympathy of the Magyars with the Turks, on the other, was averse to war, which would drain her already impecunious treasury, and set back the tide of progress just beginning to rise, was heartily averse to war.

England had had enough of helping the Turk in the Crimean war, and, though her people were divided in sympathy, part favoring the Russians, as a Christian against an infidel power, and part the Turk, as largely England's debtor, but liable to fall into everlasting bankruptcy, if plunged in war, was opposed to a conflict. France, though with much less at stake than in former wars, was averse to war, because she believed it would imperil her interest in the Suez Canal and in Syria, and because if she sided with Turkey, Germany, her late foe, would side with the Czar, and there would be a renewal of the old conflict between her and Germany, for which she was not yet prepared.

Neither Germany nor Italy were desirous of war, which they believed would kindle a general conflagration throughout Europe. All parties being thus, from a diversity of causes, opposed to war, it would seem to have been an easy task to prevent its occurence.

Something must be done, said the diplomatists; and accordingly Count Julius Andrassy, the Premier of Austria, one of the ablest of the continental statesmen, undertook, on the 25th of January, 1876, to draw up a note to the two powers, or rather to the Ottoman Porte, demanding certain reforms from Turkey, and promising to sustain her, if she would institute these reforms promptly.

The full text of this note is not accessible; but the following were the measures which it proposed for pacification:

1. Religious liberty, full and entire.
2. Abolition of the farming of taxes.
3. A law to guarantee that the direct taxation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina should be employed for the immediate interests of the province.
3. A special commission, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, to superintend the execution of the reforms proclaimed and proposed.
5. The amelioration of the condition of the rural population.

The representatives of the six powers, under instructions from their governments, supported these measures of reform, before the Porte, all of them very heartily, except the English minister, Sir Henry Elliot, who, acting evidently under secret instructions, expressed his belief that they would amount to nothing, and his fear that they trenched upon the right of the Ottoman Porte to manage its own affairs, without foreign interference. The Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha, did not reject them, but replied to the Ambassadors, that he was preparing a Constitution which would, he believed, embody these and other measures of reform.

The confidence felt in the exceptional ability and in-

tegrity of Midhat Pasha, led the powers to trust his disposition to promote these reforms, however much they might doubt the practicability of enforcing them, or as our Minister in Turkey, Hon. Horace Maynard, very forcibly stated the matter to the State Department: "My belief is, that the enlightened statesmen then in the imperial ministry saw clearly the evils out of which the insurrection had grown, and were sincere and determined in their efforts to reform them; but the same two insurmountable difficulties confronted them,—the want of confidence in their promises, on the one hand, and the hostile Mussulman sentiment, on the other."

The outline of the constitution of Midhat Pasha was published about the 1st of May, 1876, but it had received only the conditional approval of the Sultan, whose mind had became so much affected, that he had lost his influence with the people; and there was very little hope, and as events soon proved, very little ground for hope, that any of these reforms would be thoroughly maintained. It was during the next two weeks that those horrible massacres and outrages occurred in Bulgaria, which demonstrated that all barriers of reform or law would go down before the infuriated passions of the Turk and his fanatical hatred of the Christian. On the 14th of May, 1876, the representatives of Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Germany, met at Berlin, without any knowledge of the massacres, and desirous of sustaining the good intentions of the Grand Vizier, agreed upon the paper known as the "Berlin Memorandum," which provided for a guaranty by the great powers of the several reforms, which had been already proclaimed, but were not yet put in practice. Five of the great powers signed the Memorandum, but Great Britain refused, on the ground "that it must obviously and inevitably lead to the military occu-

pation of Turkey." The action of the British Ministry, at this time greatly encouraged the Turks, and gave them, very naturally, the impression that Great Britain sympathized with them and would help them to subjugate the Christian races. The British Minister at first professed ignorance in regard to the horrors in Bulgaria; then thought the Bulgarians were as much to blame as the Turks—the lamb as the wolf that devoured him—at last, compelled to acknowledge the enormity of the conduct of the Turks, he thought they had been greatly provoked by the Russian emissaries. The British Mediterranean fleet was ordered up to Besika Bay, the Turks said, to protect them; the English Minister, that it was necessary to protect English subjects. After two or three weeks it was sent back again to its former harbor.

The English people were so much roused to indignation by the massacres, and by the course of their government, that under the lead of Mr. Gladstone, they very soon made their ministers understand, that they were not at liberty to sustain Turkey in such acts of oppression, or to alienate the friendship of Russia. The war declared by Servia and Montenegro against Turkey on the 2d of July, 1876, and which resulted in defeat for Servia and victory for Montenegro, still further increased the anxieties of the great powers.

When it became evident that there was no hope from notes or memorandums, the British government suggested a conference of the powers which had been parties to the treaty of Paris, to meet at Constantinople in December, 1876; and, in order to open a way for this conference, proposed an armistice of six weeks between Turkey and Servia. The Turkish government proposed six months. The Russian government demanded an immediate armistice of from four to six weeks, and threatened to break

off diplomatic relations at once if it was not granted. The Turkish government complied with the demand. The Emperor Alexander in an interview with the British Minister, November 2d, 1876, pledged his sacred word of honor in the most earnest and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and that if necessity should oblige him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until the peace and safety of the christian population was secured. A few days later (10th November), the Emperor made a speech at Moscow, in which he said: "I have striven, and shall still strive, to obtain a real improvement of the position of the Christians in the East, by peaceful means. But, should I see that we cannot obtain such guaranties as are necessary for carrying out what we have a right to demand of the Porte, I am firmly determined to act independently; and I am convinced, that, in this case, the whole of Russia will respond to my summons, should I consider it necessary, and should the honor of Russia require it."

The preliminary conference at Constantinople was opened on the 11th December, and was participated in by representatives from Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy. The Marquis of Salisbury, one of the ablest of British statesmen, and the chief representative of Great Britain there, thus defined the purposes of the conference, and its failure to accomplish any satisfactory results, in a speech in the House of Lords. After speaking of previous treaties and the changes which had taken place, both in Turkey and Great Britain, and which prevented the latter from maintaining exactly the same attitude toward Turkey which she did in 1856, he went on to say: "If the alliance was broken up, if our exertions for the maintenance of the

Ottoman Empire were to cease, assuredly it was our part to struggle to the last, against a change which forced upon us a new and unexpected interpretation of a treaty,* by which our country was pledged; assuredly, it was our duty to exhaust appeal, remonstrance, exhortation, before deserting a cause we had hitherto maintained: and if we had taken any other course, however deep the guilt of the Turks, however low you may put their intelligence, they would have had fair ground of complaint against this country.

"We had changed as far as events compelled us; but we had not changed our traditional policy, without hesitation and without sorrow; and we still clung to the hope that some alteration would occur in the councils of Turkey, which would bring that alliance back to the same state as it was before. Now, my lords, that was the explanation of the reason why we went into the conference, —distinctly not as a preliminary to force, but as a means of peaceful persuasion. That being so, it necessarily followed, that Russia was the motive-power of the conference. That is not the way in which I should prefer to phrase it; but at the same time I do not deny that it is absolutely true, in a sense. It is true that we went into the conference, first of all, to restore peace between Turkey and Servia, and then to obtain a government for the Turkish Provinces; but, undoubtedly, we also went to stop a great and menacing danger, namely, the prospect of a war between Russia and the Porte. This, then, being the evil which we came to avert, it naturally was in pointing out that evil, that our moral influence on the Porte rested. We said to Turkey, 'Unless you do this or that, this terrible danger, which may well in-

* The Treaty of Paris, adopted April 27, 1856, and modified in 1871.

volve the loss of your empire, is ready to fall upon you. We hope that our influence and advice may be able to avert it; indeed we come here for that purpose: but we warn you that we shall accept no responsibility for the future, if you treat our advice with disdain.' Undoubtedly it was in this sense true that the fear of the result of a rupture of the congress—the fear of a breach with Russia—was the motive-force of the conference. It seems to me, as it must to everybody else, that the refusal of the Turk is a mystery; for the infatuation of that course seems to be so tremendous."

The Turks did, as the Earl of Salisbury implies, refuse to accept the terms prescribed by the conference, but certain other circumstances are to be considered, as partially explaining their action. During the interval between the preparation of the Berlin Memorandum and the calling of the conference, there had been, as we have elsewhere stated, two revolutions in the Turkish government. The Sultan, Abd-ul Aziz, had been deposed, and had committed suicide; his successor, Murad V., had also been deposed, after a reign of three months, and his successor, Abd-ul Hamid II. had, on the 7th of September, 1876, been invested with the Sword of Othman, and in his inaugural address had said: "The great object to be aimed at, is to adopt measures for placing the laws and regulations of the country upon a basis which shall inspire confidence in their execution. For this purpose, it is indispensable to proceed to the establishment of a general council or national assembly, whose acts will inspire every confidence in the nation, and will be in harmony with the customs, aptitudes, and capabilities of the populations of the empire. The mission and duty of this council will be, to guarantee, without exception, the faithful execution of the existing laws, or of those

which shall be promulgated in conformity with the provisions of the *sheri*,* in connection with the real and legitimate wants of the country and its inhabitants, as also to control the equilibrium of the revenue and expenditures of the empire."

In accordance with this recommendation, the council of ministers prepared a constitution for the Ottoman Empire, providing for the establishment of representative institutions. This was substantially the constitution Midhat Pasha had previously prepared. On the 23d December, the constitution was promulgated; and a parliament was called to assemble on the 13th March following, and actually assembled on the 19th.†

But neither the propositions of the conference, nor the provisions of the constitution, met with the approval of the leading Turks. They were desperately fanatical, and bound not to suffer the interference of any foreign power. This bitterness of fanaticism, as we shall see presently, pervaded all their subsequent action in relation to the war, which was thus forced upon the Turkish government, and resulted in compelling the Sultan to send his wise minister, Midhat Pasha, into exile.

After the failure of the conference at Constantinople, Prince Gortschakoff issued a circular, in which, after reciting what had taken place, he said, "It is necessary for us to know what the cabinets, with which we have hitherto acted in common, propose to do, with a view of meeting this refusal, and insuring the execution of their wishes."

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* The several decrees known and described elsewhere as Hatti-Sherifs.

† The parliament has accomplished nothing either for or against the war; many of its members are fanatical Mahometans, and while it has acted as a safety-valve to let off the popular discontent with the arbitrary and despotic war minister, it has not the intellectual ability, or the constitutional right, to initiate any measures which will be of service to the nation.

But, before any response had been made to this request for information, the Russian government, fearing that it might be embarrassed, if the other governments should not agree, prepared a protocol, which, after some verbal amendments, was signed by the representatives of the six powers, at London, on the 31st of March, 1877. After taking cognizance of the peace which had recently been concluded between Turkey and Servia, and taking cognizance, also, of the good intentions of the Porte, as shown in its declarations made from time to time during the past year, the protocol invited the Porte to place its army on a peace-footing, and then declared, that "the powers propose to watch carefully, by means of their representatives at Constantinople, and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman government are carried into effect.

"If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in such a manner as to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests, and those of Europe in general. In such case, they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace."

On affixing his signature, the Russian ambassador filed the following declaration:

"If peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace-footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the protocol, let it send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat

of disarmament, to which his Majesty, the Emperor, would also, on his part, consent.

"If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization."

If Turkey had been desirous of peace, there could have been no hesitation in giving its assent to these, not unwarrantable, demands. But the war-party evidently had the ascendancy in the councils of the divan; and the protocol was rejected. The Ottoman Porte stood upon its dignity, and with an audacity which, under other circumstances, would have been sublime, appealed to its own pure record, and the Treaty of Paris, as justifying its indignant rejection of these last offers of peace. A counter-declaration was made, in which the signatory powers were notified (1) that, adopting toward Montenegro the same line of conduct which brought about the pacification of Servia, the Sublime Porte spontaneously informed the prince, two months ago, that it would spare no effort to arrive at an understanding with him, even at the price of certain sacrifices; (2) that the Imperial government was prepared to adopt all the promised reforms; but those reforms, in conformity with the fundamental provisions of the constitution, could not have a special or exclusive character, and it was in that spirit that the Imperial government, in its full and entire liberty, would continue to apply its instructions; (3) that Turkey was ready to place its armies on a peace-footing as soon as it saw the Russian government take measures to the same end; (4) with regard to the disturbances which might break out in Turkey, and stop the demobilization of the Russian army, the Turkish government repelled the injurious terms in which the idea had been expressed, and stated its belief

that Europe was convinced that the recent disturbances were due to foreign instigation, *i. e.*, Russia's; (5) concerning the despatch of the special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat on the question of disarmament, the Imperial government, which would have no reason to refuse an act of courtesy, reciprocally required by diplomatic usages, perceives no connection between that act of international courtesy and the disarmament, which there was no plausible motive for delaying, and which might be carried into effect by a single telegraphic order.

In conclusion, it was declared, that, "maintaining with other friendly States relations regulated by international law and treaties, Turkey cannot allow foreign agents or representatives, charged to protect the interests of their compatriots, to have any mission of official supervision. The Imperial government, in fact, is not aware how it can have deserved so ill of justice and civilization as to see itself placed in a humiliating position without example in the world.* The Treaty of Paris gave an explicit sanction to the principle of non-intervention. This treaty, which binds together the powers who participated in it, as well as Turkey, cannot be abolished by a protocol, in which Turkey has had no share; and, if Turkey appeals to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, it is not that that treaty has created in her favor any rights which she would not possess without it, but rather for the purpose of calling attention to grave reasons, which, in the interest of the general peace of Europe, induced the powers, twenty years ago, to place the recognition of the inviolability of this empire's right to sovereignty, under the guaranty of its collective promise."

When the Turkish ambassador in London called upon Earl Derby, on the 12th of April, to deliver the

* This after the horrors of Bulgaria.

above circular, the British Minister of foreign affairs expressed his deep regrets at the view the Porte had taken, and said he could not see what further steps England could take, to avert the war which appeared to be inevitable.

On the 24th April (N. S.) the Czar, who was at Kischeneff with the army, issued his manifesto, in which he said:

"For two years we have made incessant efforts to induce the Porte to effect such reforms as would protect the Christians in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, from the arbitrary measures of the local authorities. The accomplishment of these reforms was absolutely stipulated, by anterior engagements contracted by the Porte to the whole of Europe. Our efforts, supported by diplomatic representations made in common by the other governments, have not, however, attained their object. The Porte has remained unshaken in its formal refusal of any effective guaranty for the security of its Christian subjects, and has rejected the conclusions of the Constantinople conference. Wishing to essay every possible means of conciliation, in order to persuade the Porte, we proposed to the other cabinets to draw up a special protocol, comprising the most essential conditions of the Constantinople conference, and to invite the Turkish government to adhere to this international act, which states the extreme limits of our peaceful demands. But our expectation was not fulfilled. The Porte did not defer to this unanimous wish of Christian Europe, and did not adhere to the conclusions of the protocol. Having exhausted pacific efforts, we are compelled, by the haughty obstinacy of the Porte, to proceed to more decisive acts, feeling that equity and our own dignity enjoin it. By her refusal, Turkey places us under the

necessity of having recourse to arms. Profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause, and humbly committing ourselves to the grace and help of the Most High, we make known to our faithful subjects, that the moment foreseen, when we pronounced words to which all Russia responded with complete unanimity, has now arrived. We expressed the intention to act independently when we deemed it necessary, and when Russia's honor should demand it. And now, invoking the blessing of God upon our valiant armies, we give them the order to cross the Turkish frontier."

CHAPTER XIV.

REVIEW OF THE WHOLE SUBJECT.

It has been our purpose, in the previous chapters of this book, to set before our readers such a presentation of the history, religion, life, manners, and customs of the various nations, whose interests are intimately connected with the war now in progress around the Black Sea, as should enable them, for the first time, to understand fully the relations which these nations hold to each other, and to the war. We say, "for the first time," because some of these nations have been hitherto almost wholly unknown to American, or even to English readers. We have occasionally seen the names of Roumania (or Wallachia and Moldavia), Servia, and more rarely of Montenegro, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; but exactly where they were situated, what races occupied them, whether they were white or black,* savage or civilized; Mahometan, Pagan, or Christian; and whether they had any history worth remembering, were questions which hitherto have been mainly unanswered; yet the history, religion, patriotism, and energy of these hitherto unknown nations are deeply interesting, not only to the student of language and ethnology, but to the general reader, who, desires to know the steps of progress by which we, who live in these western lands,

* The writer has been seriously asked, more than once, by intelligent people, whether the inhabitants of Montenegro were not of African race?

have attained to our free institutions, and our present faith. The East is the motherland; but it is not often that we obtain such clear views of the processes by which the State grows up out of the commune, or the church out of the individual confessions of a faith.

But if these separate studies of the nations of Eastern Europe have proved, as we know they have, full of fascination and interest, how much more delightful will be the labor of studying their action in combination; of comprehending how their relations to each other have from time to time, changed the condition of affairs in Eastern Europe, and raised up new and powerful empires, whose sway at first beneficent and peaceful, finally became corrupt, and led to their destruction, giving place to other empires, not so wise and just, but possessing, perhaps, a higher vitality; and how these in their turn sank into decay, and gave way to still other successors. Nor are the religious changes which have passed over these countries less impressive or interesting than their civil history. It is not alone the great hierarchies of Rome or Constantinople, nor the faith of Islam, which have had their seats in these eastern lands; the most prominent forms of Christian dissent have also originated here, and their influence has spread from hence over the whole of Europe, and the strange spectacle has more than once been seen of the followers of the Cross arrayed in hostile attitude against each other, and the weaker craving the doubtful protection of the Osmanlì, and rallying under the standard of the Crescent.

To the student of social science and anthropology, also, there is a profound interest in the development of different forms of government, and civil institutions by different races. The organization on the family basis by all the Sclavonic races, growing from the family with its

patriarch into the *Mir*, *Zupa*, or commune; the group of *Mirs* or *Zupas* forming the *volost*, Grand *Zupa*, or *Banat;* and the aggregation of these into the Kingdom, or Czardom, which seems to be the highest point of power attainable by the Sclavic races. Though this is not our idea of a constitutional government, there is a regular gradation of responsibility in it, which answers the same purpose. The village Elder, *Starosta*, or Zupan, being responsible to the assembly of villagers, the Grand Zupan or Ban to the assembly of Elders, and the Czar to his Bans Grand Zupans; and his responsibility is tempered also by a fear of assassination.

Contrast this with the military, or robber-chief organization of the Turks or Tartars, with its feudal chiefs and their retainers, an organization whose normal condition is war, and which, if made to serve for a peaceful era, soon falls into corruption, and ruins what it would conserve.

Let us then notice, briefly, the grouping of these minor States round the two principals in the conflict, and the motives and influences which draw the great powers of Western Europe into affiliation with one or other of the combatants.

And in the beginning, let us say, that all hasty generalizations, drawn from identity or similarity of race or religion, must be avoided. They are not only superficial and erroneous, but mischievous from their false reasoning. The man who says Russia is very largely Sclavonic, and therefore, all the Sclaves will be found under her banner; or, Northern Russia is Finnish; the Bulgarians were originally Finns, therefore, in any contest between Turkey and Russia, the Bulgarians will enthusiastically rally round the Russian standard, is deceiving himself most egregiously. Still more stupid is the man who argues,

the Orthodox Greek Church is the natural church of Russia; therefore, all the minor States and the Turkish provinces in which the Orthodox Greek Church is established will combine under Russia, as their natural leader and head. In truth, the Albanian, and still more, the Greek, are the most orthodox of the adherents of the Orthodox Greek Church, yet they hate their brethren of the Orthodox Bulgarian Church, a little worse than they do the Turks, and would gladly subject them to the bitterest persecution. The members of the Bosnian-Montenegrin, Servian and Roumanian Churches, all strictly orthodox, have no liking for the Turk and no admiration for Mohametanism, but they are almost as averse to the Russian orthodox Greek Church, and will have nothing to do with its Patriarchs or Metropolitans. There is no special affinity of language between Russia and the minor States, and, therefore, no ground for classification in that direction.

How, then, shall we determine the affinities of these States? We answer, simply by an observation of what they understand to be their interest. Russia has been the persistent enemy of Turkey, and Turkey of Russia for nearly three hundred years. Only once in that time has Russia stretched out her hand to help the Turk against a foe, and as her reward for that deed, she received the free navigation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus for a series of years. She has fought the Turks single-handed and alone; she has fought him when he has had Poland and the Tartars of the Crimea for his allies; when Venice, and Austria, and Hungary fought under his banners; when Italy and France were his allies; when Spain was his fast friend; when England, and France, and Sardinia united to help him, and Austria, the debtor to Russia for many favors, refused to come to her aid; and at an

earlier date, when the Turk with a Tartar horde on one side, and that "Madman of the North," Charles XII. of Sweden, on the other, had reduced Peter the Great to such straits, that the Empress Catharine could only purchase his relief by bribing the Turkish Grand Vizier with her jewels. Whatever her motives for this persistent hostility, and they were many, Russia was always true to herself and consistent in her hate of the Turk; not like Austria and Venice, ready to accede to his demands one day, and the next to fight him.

It might be expected that the minor States and provinces who had so much cause to desire the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, would have at once put themselves under a Russian protectorate; but strong as were the inducements to do this, there were some cogent arguments against it. Russia was imperious and arrogant, and under Catharine II., Alexander I., and Nicholas, made no secret of her intention to take Constantinople and make it her capital. Her religious doctrines corresponded with those of the Danubian principalities, but though there was an abundance of forms, there was very little religious principle involved; her rule was stringent, and she had a hard reputation as an oppressor of tributary states. The Turk, on the other hand, though a robber and freebooter, had an easy, careless way of governing which made his sway less oppressive and cruel (with occasional exceptions), in fact, than it was in theory.

With the Danubian principalities, there was another difficulty, also. Whenever the war commenced, the territory was, to a greater or less extent, the battle-field of the two nations, and whoever triumphed, they were sure to be the sufferers in ravaged fields, plundered dwellings, and half-burned towns. This was the case in Roumania for so many years, that the Roumanians fell into the

habit of only erecting the most temporary and rude dwellings. In the plunder and desolation which always accompanied this armed occupation, the reputation of the Russians was worse than that of the Turks. "One Russian army corps is worse than half a dozen Turkish armies," was a common saying among the Wallachians. On such occasions, though the principalities might be tributaries to Turkey and acknowledge its sovereignty, yet Russia always assumed a sort of protectorate over them, and dictated, sometimes very offensively, what they should and what they should not do. In July, 1853, the Russians crossed the Pruth into Roumania with their forces, in order to be prepared to attack Turkey at once, when war should be declared. M. Stirbey was Hospodar of Wallachia at this time, and had received his appointment by the joint agreement of Russia and Turkey. The Russian General, Gortschakoff, brother of the statesman, was in command of the Russian army at this time. He ordered M. Stirbey to refuse to pay tribute to the Porte; he obeyed. He then ordered him to proclaim martial law, and he did so, his ministers signing the decree with him. When he had done all that General Gortschakoff directed, he bid him begone, and refused all his requests to be allowed to remain. This was in July, and war was not declared till the following November. When M. Stirbey was gone, General Gortschakoff called together the Wallachian ministry and addressed them in the following terms:

"Gentlemen, you remain in charge of the administration of the country, but my position places you naturally under my direction. I recommend to you the imperial army. I have no complaint to make of the manner in which the soldiers are treated, but I advise you to be tender of them. It is necessary that they should not

want for anything, and that you should anticipate all their needs. See to it that you are zealous in the accomplishment of your duties. You are under a military government; take care that you conduct yourselves in such a manner as not to fall under its punishment. Forbid in the strongest terms all your employés from occupying themselves with any political matter whatever.

"Whoever engages in any correspondence with Turkey, shall be hung within twenty-four hours. I say this for all classes, from the highest to the lowest. I know that some of your boyards (nobles) have written to obtain the rank of Prince or Count, but I give you to understand distinctly, that they will be hung before they will obtain the rank of Prince or Count." And this language was addressed to the ministers of a people who were under no obligation to Russia for favors received, and on whom this general had thrust his army in time of peace, while they were tributaries of another power! It is no wonder that Russia was not particularly loved by the Roumanians of that period.

But Russia has changed since that time, and so has Roumania. Alexander II. is a man of more heart and gentleness than Nicholas was, and his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, is not a brutal tyrant, like General Gortschakoff. Roumania is governed by a sensible and able prince of German birth, and a near kinsman of the Emperor of Germany; and it is not quite safe, even if it were desired, for Russia to assume the bearing of a despot to him. Furthermore, both Prince Charles, and his people, desire to become independent, and that object can be accomplished most easily through the influence of Russia. Servia is somewhat differently situated. She was at war with Turkey

last year, and was sadly defeated. She entered upon this war wholly from sympathy with Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which had been driven to insurrection, partly by the cruel oppression of the tithe-farmers, who were generally Greeks, though contractors with the Turkish government, and partly by the influence of Russian spies and members of the "Bucharest Committee." Servia herself, had no cause of complaint against Turkey; she paid but a small tribute, and had received, of late years, no injuries; but the feeling of kindred and religious sympathy was very strong; the Bosniacs and Servians being both Serbs, and their branches of the Orthodox Greek Church being in full communion with each other.

In this war Montenegro joined, partly from sympathy with the Bosniacs, on similar grounds with Servia (for the Montenegrins are Serbs), but more from the general disposition of the little principality, whenever there is a chance for war with Turkey, to take a part in it. Montenegro is always in a state of chronic hostility to Turkey, when the disease does not take on an acute form. Her men are all excellent marksmen, and possess a powerful physique, great personal courage, and regard death in battle as the most glorious and noble death possible. In their mountain heights they are unconquerable, except at immense odds, but on the plains they are entirely out of their element. The Montenegrins were much more successful in 1876 than the Servians, defeating the Turks at all points, but they renewed the fight in 1877, while the Servians did not, Austria interfering to prevent it. In this renewed conflict in 1877, the Montenegrins, though destroying many thousands of the Turks, were in great danger of being overwhelmed by the vastly superior force of the Turks, and the treachery of one of their own officers, when the enemy was com-

pelled to withdraw, in consequence of the great masses of the Russian armies which crossed the Danube.

Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro are all disposed to fight the Turk, not from any particular love for Russia, but because they hope, perhaps, on insufficent grounds, that as a result of the war, they may unite as a single State, and take Bosnia and the Herzegovina with them, all these states and provinces being inhabited by Serbs, except Roumania, which has, however, a large Sclavonic element in her population. It is by no means certain that Roumania, with her large debt, would be suffered to come into such a confederation; her strongest claim to do so, being her partial command of the Danube. Bulgaria, north of the Balkans is Sclavonic, and after her recent cruel treatment, would, perhaps, be more ready now than ever before, to join in such a confederacy, as we have indicated. Her joining it would give a full command of the Danube up to the Austrian line, and the new confederacy would, doubtless, demand of Austria, as an off-set, to the free navigation of the Danube, the possession of the ports of Ragusa and Cattaro on the Adriatic, as well as the Turkish port of Antivari. There is, however, one objection to any such arrangement, in regard to Bulgaria. The Bulgarians, though evidently of different races on the two slopes of the Balkans, are so bound together in their feeling of nationality, that they would not consent to be separated. The greater number of the outrages of May, 1876, were committed south of the Balkans. It seems probable, that Russia could take possession of this southern portion of the Bulgarian country, which includes the district of Thrace and a part of the Vilayet of Adrianople. But for the Russians to occupy and take possession of the whole of this, would take them too near Constantinople to please Great Britain,

or, possibly France, or Austria. If it could be incorporated into a confederacy of principalities, or an independent kingdom, protected and guaranteed by the Great Powers, it might prove the best solution of the whole question. But nations, especially nations like Russia, Austria, and Great Britain, are not in the habit of being generous; Russia has sufficient territory, but she is likely to require "material guaranties" from Turkey, for her immense expenditure in this war, and the more so, as she has experienced serious losses thus far in Asia Minor. Greece, which has been disposed to make war upon its own account with Turkey, has no claim upon this Bulgarian territory, but if the Ottoman Porte should be badly defeated in Europe, might put in a claim for Thessaly or Southern Albania. Her motive in the war was two-fold; the desire of acquiring more territory, and a chronic hatred (not undeserved) of the Turk. The powers outside of the seat of war, next deserve our attention. Austria has always been a selfish and heartless power. Her policy with regard to Turkey has been vacillating, and controlled at all times by a selfish, and not always wise solicitude for her own interests. She refused to join England, France, and Sardinia in the Crimean war, in supporting Turkey against Russia, but at the last, after maintaining a strict neutrality, she exerted such a pressure on Russia, as to put an end to the war. A somewhat wiser statesmanship seems to control her action now, and her premier has shown decided genius in his course. Her diverse populations make her position one of great difficulty. The Magyars, or Hungarians proper, who number about six and a half millions, are of a race akin to the Turks, and though for ages they have waged war upon them, have not forgotten the kindness of the Ottoman Porte, in giving asylum to their refugees after

the Hungarian war with Austria in 1849. They would gladly aid Turkey. The Sclavonians, numbering about 15,000,000, sympathize very heartily with the Sclavonians and Serbs of Turkey and the principalities, and would gladly aid them. The Germans, who number nearly as many, are indifferent, but of the two, rather prefer Russia. Austria has insisted that Servia and Roumania should take no active part in the war, but seems to be unable to control them, though the Russian Empire has conceded the desirableness of neutrality on their part.

Great Britain has, or thinks she has, a greater interest at stake in the war, than any other of the powers of Western Europe. She, also, is in an embarrassing position. She has a chronic jealousy of Russia, and distrusts her motives in seeking to gain additional territory, even temporarily, either in European or Asiatic Turkey. In the former, she fears that Russia may occupy Constantinople, and though she promises to do so only temporarily, if at all, the British Cabinet are very nervous lest the Russians may be tempted to stay. They are very strongly averse also to what they believe to be the purpose of the Czar to control the Black Sea and the Lower Danube. Under existing circumstances, or rather the *status quo ante bello*, they had the same privileges with Turkey in the Black Sea and the Danube.

As to Asia Minor, they are strongly opposed to the acquisition of more territory by Russia there, from the fear that it may be used in some way to interfere with the free communication of Great Britain with its Indian Empire. The Czar has attempted, by the most solemn pledges, to divest them of these apprehensions as to both points, and also as to the Suez Canal, of which they feared he would take possession, but they seem unwilling to be

comforted. Meantime Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, is the husband of the only daughter of the Czar, and the spouse of the Czarewitch, or heir apparent is the sister of the Princess of Wales; while the connections through the German royal and ducal houses are very numerous.

On the other hand, Great Britain stands to Turkey in the relation of an ally, of a protector, and above all, of a very large creditor, and though her debtor is evidently bankrupt, she is disposed to hold firmly to the assets, in the hope that she may save something. The conservative party who are at present in power, have manifested for more than a year and a half, a strong disposition to sustain Turkey at all hazards. They refused to believe anything of the Bulgarian massacres, till they were compelled by the most conclusive evidence to acknowledge them; they then insisted that the Bulgarians were equally guilty with the Turks; and when this was disproved, they still gave to the Porte their material support. But for the earnest protest, and the strong opposition, both of the Liberals and the people generally, aided at the last by the Earl of Salisbury, the Conservative delegate to the Conference at Constantinople in December, 1876, they would have plunged Great Britain into a war with Russia, and thus have set all Europe aflame. Wiser counsels at last prevailed, and Great Britain now maintains a neutral position, though with a strong leaning of her cabinet toward Turkey. The Liberals, led by Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the former premier, deserve great credit for their vigorous action, which certainly prevented a general war in Europe.

France has not as important interests at stake in the East now as she has had in the past. She has lost much of her control over the Khedive of Egypt, Ismail Pasha,

and Great Britain has gained it. She no longer holds a controlling interest in the Suez Canal; that has also passed into the hands of the British Government. She does not feel disposed to contend so strongly for the Holy Places, nor does she demand to be the protector of the Latin Christians of Syria, and the arbiter between them and their hereditary foes, the Druses. In connection with the Czar, she contributes a small sum toward the support of the Hospodar of Montenegro; and her relations to both the contending powers are amicable. Still, of the two, she would probably prefer to come to the aid of the Ottoman Porte, were it not for one most weighty consideration. She knows that Germany is her deadly foe, and that the slightest provocation would bring on a war between them, for which she is not yet ready, but which she herself intends to provoke, under more favorable circumstances. Germany and Russia are so bound together by the ties of kinship, and by a similarity of interest, that any hostility to Russia, on the part of France, would be seized by Germany as a pretext for war upon France; the more, because Russia being occupied with the present war, could not interpose, as she is said to have done in 1871, to moderate the claims of Germany upon her defeated and prostrate foe. It is by no means certain that another Franco-German war would have the same results as the former one, for the Emperor William and Count Von Moltke are very old, and Prince Bismarck is in impaired health; while the French, learning wisdom by what they suffered, have now honest and highly intelligent officers, and armies in the highest condition of discipline and efficiency; but France is not yet quite ready, and so she maintains the strictest neutrality.

Italy has a deep interest in the war now in progress;

so deep, that, but for the condition of her finances, and the apprehension that her army and navy are not quite to be trusted in these days of perfected fire-arms, armored ships, immense guns, and destructive torpedoes, she would be ready to take part in the war, not so much on the side of Russia, as of the principalities and the oppressed provinces. If the semi-Italian ports of Ragusa, Cattaro, and Antivari could be opened to a free trade with the rich provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by which their great mineral wealth might be made available, and a railroad could bring to those ports the cattle and swine of Servia, and the grain products of Roumania and upper Bulgaria, tapping the lower Danube, the results would be largely beneficial for all parties concerned, and Italy, especially on her Adriatic coast, might again become what she was in the Middle Ages, the entrepôt of the vast commerce of the East. Italy has also an interest in the growth and prosperity of Greece, whose enterprise and daring offers so marked a contrast to the apathy and commercial deadness of Turkey.

Germany, as we have already said, is the fast friend of Russia; the matrimonial alliances which have been contracted between the Russian Czars and the leading princes of Russia, and the royal and Grand Ducal families of Germany, have been almost numberless. "We are not Russians; we are Germans," said one of the Czars, speaking of the Imperial family, and the statement was, and is, true. The traces of the Romanoff blood are very faint, and in each successive generation they grow fainter still.

But it is quite as much in the identity of their views in matters of government, and the sincere personal regard of the Emperors of Russia and Germany for each other, as in their matrimonial alliances, that the friendship of the two nations consists. Except in their relation

to the old kingdom of Poland, which is, for the time at least, a dead issue, they are not liable to be brought into contact, much less into collision. The election of a scion of the house of Hohenzollern, to be Domnu of Roumania, by the joint influence of Prussia and Russia, forms another bond of union between the powers, since Russia would not permit a hostile family to rule that principality. Yet, unquestionably with the full concurrence of the Czar, Germany has been almost ostentatiously neutral during this war; and her able statesmen in the meetings of the several powers, the conference at Constantinople, and the discussion of the Protocol, confined themselves to objecting to propositions which might prove offensive to either party, but did not, openly at least, initiate any demands upon either power. Still, their influence, guarded as it was, preponderated to the side of Russia, as much as that of Great Britain did to the side of Turkey.

The relations of Spain and Portugal in the South, and Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in the North of Europe, to the present war, are of so little importance, that their declarations of neutrality are accepted as a matter of course; and yet the time has been, as history testifies, when the attitude of these powers had a controlling effect upon the results of wars between Russia and Turkey.

Such, then, was the situation at the beginning of the war, and there has been no material change in the first three months of its progress. Russia and Turkey are engaged in a fierce conflict in two regions as far apart as our Eastern and Western armies in our late civil war. In the East, surrounded by hostile peoples, involved in an intricate mountain system with lofty and difficult passes, with no good roads and few of any sort, the Russians

have thus far made but little progress, and though Persia has been restive, and its Shah has made some overtures to the Czar, as yet no nation or race, outside of the contending powers, has become involved. In the West, the Russian army has moved forward from the Pruth, among a friendly people, to the Danube, and crossed it in large force, not without some damage to Roumania from the Turkish bombardment of its river ports, the Roumanians themselves being anxious to participate in the fight on the side of Russia. Servia, though *not* as yet a battle-field, has been with difficulty restrained from attacking her old enemy, Turkey. Montenegro has been fighting the Turks on her own account, and the Russian forces seem to be receiving a cordial welcome in Bulgaria; while Bosnia and the Herzegovina are desirous of throwing off the Turkish yoke; and Greece has threatened to declare war against the Porte.

The disasters which in the first three months of the war befell Russia in the regions east of the Black Sea, had no other effect on her western armies, than to make them more daring and ambitious for new and bold feats in military strategy; masking instead of assailing the principal Turkish fortresses, and crossing the Danube at several ill-defended points, her generals have left a hundred thousand Turkish troops in and about Rustchuk, Silistria, Varna, and Shümla, without concerning themselves about them, except to send some of their Cossack irregular cavalry to hover about their flanks, and have gone forward with the largest portion of the force which had crossed the Danube, to Tirnova, on the northern slope of the Balkans, the capital of Bulgaria; and while making a feint at the Shipka Pass, have crossed with 40,000 or 50,000 troops over the Balkans by secret passes, and were threatening Adrianople, while Abd-ul Kerim Pasha

was waiting for them to attempt the passage over the mountains by the Shipka Pass.

Meanwhile, the western powers are unwilling to become involved in a war, whose termination none of them can foresee. Austria and England maintain an armed neutrality, the former unable from her position to make a choice between the contending powers; the latter from the diversity of opinion between her cabinet and her people, letting "I dare not, wait upon I would;" Germany and Italy, as well as the remoter powers, maintaining a strict and honest equipoise between the contending parties. What may be in the future, it is hard to say; but at present, it seems possible, but not very probable, that the general peace of Europe will be broken.

ALEXANDER II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.

PART II.

ACTORS IN THE COUNCILS AND ON THE FIELD.

I. Emperors, Kings, and Princes

ALEXANDER II. (Nicolaivitch),

Czar, Emperor, and Autocrat of all the Russias, is the eldest son of the late Czar, Nicholas I., and the Princess Charlotte, daughter of William III., King of Prussia. He was born April 17, O. S. (April 29, New Style), 1818, during the reign of his uncle, Alexander I., the predecessor of Nicholas, whom, in many respects, he resembles. The Imperial family, of which the Czar Nicholas was the head, was remarkable for physical beauty. There were four sons and three daughters, and all inherited both from father and mother, an extraordinary stateliness, grace, and beauty, which had no parallels among the crowned heads of Europe. Nicholas, in his prime, was said to be the handsomest man in Europe, and the Czarina, the most beautiful woman—and none of the sons or daughters were lacking in this great, though dangerous gift. The household was a very happy one; for, though Nicholas was a stern man, and inherited from his Romanoff ancestors a furious temper, which, when at a white heat, was appalling to all around him, yet, in his family, he was always gentle and loving.

His eldest son, Alexander, had, in his early boyhood, when but seven or eight years of age, been an unwilling witness of the terrible scenes of insurrection and violence, which followed his father's coronation, and had known, young as he was, the relentless severity, with which the Czar punished all who had any part or interest in that insurrection, in the years that followed. In his thirteenth year his father put down the insurrection in Poland, with a severity and cruelty, which has compelled the historian to denounce his action as "the most atrocious crime in all history." Sixty thousand Poles were banished to Siberia; all the male children of the poorer classes, who composed nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants, were seized, in accordance with a ukase issued February 14, 1832, and sent to Minsk, to be enrolled in battalions, and brought up for the military service of the government. Agonized and imploring mothers followed their babes for many miles, pleading that they might not be torn from them. The use of the Polish language was forbidden in the schools, the courts, and the churches. He fulfilled his vow to "make a Siberia of Poland, and a Poland of Siberia." Even his sons were placed under military governors, to harden their hearts to the human suffering, which the Czar believed necessary, to carry out his stern purposes.

The effect of all this upon Alexander, the heir to the throne, was very painful. His nature was gentle and thoughtful, and cruelty was abhorrent to all his feelings. His younger brother, Constantine, was cast in a different mould. He did not share in these tender emotions, and in his capacity as Admiral in the Navy, rather rejoiced in deeds of blood; and there grew up, for a time, a coolness between the brothers, which might have led to unfortunate results, but for the father's interference.

Alexander was, when he arrived at his majority, so overwhelmed with sadness, that nothing seemed to dispel the gloom from his spirits. In vain did his father give him high positions and great duties to perform, in the hope of diverting his mind and rousing his ambition. His duties were carefully and faithfully accomplished, but his sad and pale face told how much he suffered. At length, his father sent him to Germany and the other courts of Europe, with orders to remain abroad till his health was fully recovered. He went from court to court, everywhere welcomed, and everywhere winning friends by his manly grace, his culture, and his gentle and courteous manners; but, underneath all, there was the sadness of a bruised and wounded spirit.

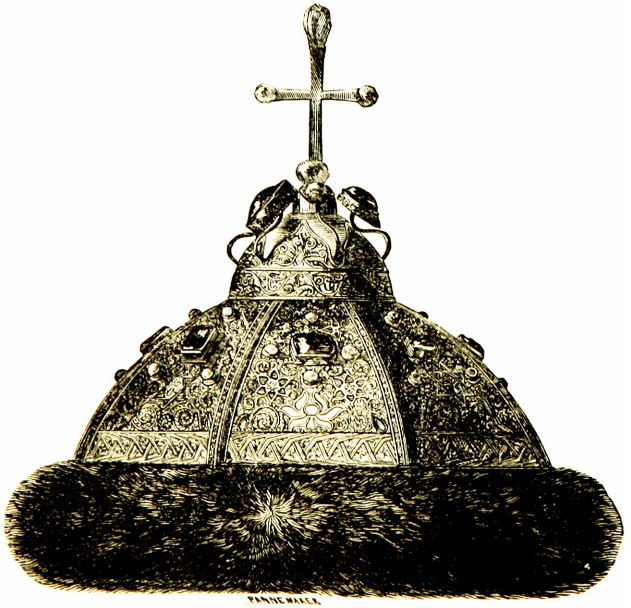
At the small but brilliant Court of the Grand Duke Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, he was a highly favored guest; the Grand Duke had several fair daughters, none of whom were averse to becoming the bride of the heir apparent of the Russian throne; but after spending some time there, he was about to leave, apparently fancy free, when he suddenly asked of the Grand Duke the hand of his youngest daughter, Marie, the most modest, timid, and retiring of all his family, and the one whom both the father and the other daughters had regarded as destined to a single life; but her isolation, as well as her beauty of mind and person, had attracted the Czarovitch to her. They were betrothed, and when she had acquired the Russian language, and been baptized into the Greek Church, they were married, in April, 1841.

At the age of nineteen, Alexander had been chosen Chancellor of the University of Helsingfors, in Finland, and after his marriage he devoted himself to the work of gaining the love of the Finns, and winning them to

a more cordial and hearty allegiance to Russia, of which they had hitherto been, except in name, independent. He entered most earnestly into all their scientific enterprises, defraying the cost from his own private purse; and so won their affections, that the rank of Grand Duke of Finland, to which he subsequently attained, has had a new significance in it, and to this day, it is the proudest title he wears. After the death of his uncle, the Grand Duke Michael, he was, by his father, charged with the supervision of all the military schools of the empire, and received public thanks "for the care which he had taken to bring up the Russian youth in the true Russian spirit."

In 1850, he visited Southern Russia, and the whole region north and east of the Black Sea, extending his journeys to the Caspian, and the Sea of Aral, and taking a part in the desultory warfare with the Circassians of the Caucasus.

When his father contemplated war against Turkey and her allies in 1854, it is believed that Alexander did not accord with the Czar in regard to its necessity; but when it was once declared, he was too thoroughly loyal to his father, and to Russia, not to do all in his power to make it a success. Very touching were that father's last words to him, as he saw, with the clear vision of the dying, how completely his schemes had failed: "You know, my son, that the good of Russia has been the sole end of all my solicitude and all my efforts. I desired to leave the empire fully organized, guaranteed from danger within and without, completely tranquil and happy. God wills otherwise. The burden will be heavy for you." A heavy burden, indeed, it was. The Crimean War was drawing to a close, and it had proved a series of disasters for Russia; there was no hope of its termi-



CROWN OF A MONARCH OF RUSSIA.

SIBERIAN CROWN OF THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

nation without loss of prestige, loss of naval power, and loss of territory. He ascended the throne on his father's death, March 2, 1855, and on taking his coronation oath, added to it, this solemn adjuration: "I swear to remain faithful to all the sentiments of my father, and to persevere in the line of political principles which have preserved his authority." He renewed this declaration in a manifesto addressed to the nation; avowing his intention to uphold the glory of the empire as it had been maintained by his predecessors. While his first council resolved, not in any way to interrupt the course of the war with the Allied powers, in which Russia was engaged, he was ready, so soon as the capture of Kars had made amends in the eyes of his people for the loss of Sevastopol, to make terms of peace with his foes.

The situation of his empire was, at this time, an alarming one, and so astute an observer as Alexander, was not slow to appreciate the danger. In European Russia there were more than sixty millions of souls, but of these, nearly three-fourths were serfs—slaves, attached only to the soil. In the war just concluded, he had been opposed by nations whose combined population, were not much larger than his own, and who were incapable of bringing into the field, at a point so remote from their own territory, anything like as large a force as that which he had called out. They were fighting for glory, or for an idea; his people were fighting for their homes, their altars, their hearths, their wives and children; yet he had been ignominiously defeated at every point. What could be the cause? He saw two causes, which were sufficient to account for his defeat; the one, the universal corruption which had permeated the whole civil and military service of the nation, and which had honey combed it through and through, till as his father had

said, some years before: "There is not in all Russia an honest man, except myself." His first efforts must be directed to a thorough and radical reform of the entire military and civil service, and the clearing out of all this mass of corruption. This was a gigantic work. But the other cause of the failure of the war was still more stupendous; it was the system of serfage, an evil greater than our American system of slavery, because it involved ten times as many persons. His people were slaves, who had no interest in the government under which they lived. His predecessors had striven to cope with this gigantic evil, and had failed completely. Could he be more successful?

He attacked it most courageously, and though he had strong friends to sustain him, he had also the bitter opposition of a considerable portion of the nobles, and serious difficulties, before long, with the serfs themselves. It was nine years before the great work was accomplished, and forty-five millions of serfs set free; and the immense toil which that work involved, and the weariness of spirit which it occasioned, made him an old man before his time. At the very moment when he could look back over all these years of anxiety and toil, and say: "I have completed my work," his eldest son, a young man twenty-two years of age, and of great promise, suddenly sickened and died. From this added sorrow, he has never recovered, and almost daily, when in St. Petersburg, he may be seen, a sad-visaged, pale, prematurely old man in plain dress, hastening, with but a single attendant, to the great but gloomy church of St. Peter and St. Paul, where the Imperial House of Romanoff lie beneath the costly marbles, there to kneel and pray at the tomb of his eldest son.

During all the emancipation struggle, while he had to

contend, at times almost single-handed, with the nobles of the old school, and with the ignorant and rapacious serfs, whose interests he was trying to promote, he had, also, to control the restless spirits of Poland. That his father had committed a great crime against Poland, he well knew; and when he came to the throne he resolved, as far as possible, to undo his father's misdeeds. The exiles in Siberia were recalled, schools were established, privileges granted, and the effort sincerely made, to win the affection and confidence of the Poles. "Only" he said to the Polish nobles at Warsaw, "I will have no reveries, no dreaming of a future independent kingdom of Poland, no conspiracies. I love Finland and Poland as well as any portion of my empire, and will be glad to have them prosper and be happy; but it must be as portions of the one Russian empire. I greatly prefer to reward and encourage, rather than to punish; but if you compel me to be harsh, I shall show you that I can be as severe as my father."

But the Poles have always been dreamers, and their nobles have constantly conspired against Russia; and though, for a few months, his kindness and his excellent management paralyzed their hostile intentions, it was not long before he found that a wide-spread conspiracy, having its managers in Paris, was ready to develop itself, which not only threatened his sway over Poland, but aimed at his dethronement, and the overthrow of his dynasty. It was put down with as little severity as possible, and, at the instance of the other European powers, and, in accordance with his own mild disposition, Alexander permitted the return of those who had been exiled, the use of the Polish language, the restoration of religious worship (the Poles are largely Roman Catholics), the reorganization of schools, and other privileges. These

favors only stimulated the Polish conspirators to greater zeal in carrying forward their schemes; and finding that they were utterly incorrigible, Alexander fulfilled his pledge of a remorseless severity, which has accomplished his purpose, and probably put an end to their rebellious tendencies. He prohibited the nobles from obtaining after December, 1865, any seignioral rights or privileges in Poland, and promulgated laws, facilitating the sequestration of the goods of such as had conspired against the government. In August, 1866, he required that all public business throughout the empire (in Poland, as elsewhere), should be conducted in the Russian language; and an insurrection of Poles exiled to Siberia occurring at this time, it was put down by the military with great severity and promptness. In September, of the same year, the titles and estates of Polish nobles who had been concerned in the insurrection, were conferred upon Russians of the middle or trading class. In 1867, the Council of State of Poland, the last remaining relic of its ancient institutions, was abolished, and soon after a decree was issued, directing that public instruction in Poland should be under the immediate control of the Minister of Public Instruction at St. Petersburg. In April, 1868, the name of the kingdom of Poland was formally abolished, and soon after the Poles were prohibited from wearing in public their national costume. These enactments, though apparently severe, were brought upon their own heads by the Poles, and especially by the Polish nobility, who, notwithstanding the sympathy which was wasted upon them, were not really patriots, but a selfish and tyrannical oligarchy, whose ideas of freedom consisted in doing as they pleased, and compelling all those who were under their sway, to submit to their behests. Their principal reason for the

insurrection of 1864–'5, was that Alexander had proceeded to emancipate their serfs, as he had already done those of Russia and of the crown.

In his foreign policy, Alexander has maintained a dignified position; not so haughty or unreasonable as that of his father, and the shrewd but imperious Nesselrode; and while, at times, Prince Gortschakoff has manifested a little of the old Russian *hauteur*, his Imperial master has usually checked such manifestations, and has studied those measures which tended toward peace. In the Austrian-Italian war of 1859, and the Austrian-Prussian war of 1866, he maintained a careful neutrality. He protested with great spirit against the cruelties of the Turkish government, in the suppression of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and the war with Montenegro in 1861–62, and the massacres of the Cretans in 1866–67, and sent his own ships to rescue the Cretan refugees and insurgents, from the caves in which they were concealed to escape the murderous fury of Omer Pasha. In the Franco-German war of 1870–71, he also maintained a strict neutrality, and by his influence restrained other nations from becoming involved on either side, while he moderated the aggressiveness of Germany, to which he was bound by so many ties.

His position in the circumstances which led to the present war, has been one of great difficulty. His own sympathy, and that of his family and his nobles, with the Sclavonic race, is very strong; certainly four-fifths of the inhabitants of European Russia belong to that race; and the greater part of the Sclaves in Turkey, Austria, and the Danubian principalities, like those of Russia, are followers of the Greek rite, either as connected with the Orthodox Greek Church (of which the Czar is the sovereign and head), or of the other Greek churches, which differ

from it only in some trifling details. The Czar is intensely devoted to his faith, and has shown a strong disposition to extend its influence, repressing Roman Catholicism with a vigorous hand, and discouraging even to the extent of persecution, the various forms of dissent. Of this, his recent action toward the Mennonites, and his repression of the Stundists, a sect of Baptists, are notable examples.

At the same time, we have conclusive evidence that notwithstanding his warm sympathies, of religion as well as race, with the sufferers of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, and Bulgaria, his influence has been directed rather to the restraining of the Sclavonic Committee, and his co-religionists of Roumania, Servia, etc., than to urging them forward in a course which he well knew would inevitably lead to war. His remonstrances with Servia, both in 1876 and 1877, against declaring war, are matters of history; and not less public has been his dissuasion of Prince Charles of Roumania from the rash course on which he and his people were bent. Alexander felt that he was not ready for war. His army, so recently reorganized, was not yet sufficiently familiar with its new regulations and arms to be fully efficient. The arts of peace were just beginning to flourish; great public enterprises, such as railways, telegraphs, manufactories of locomotives, cannon, and fire-arms, required all the money the nation could spare; his schools, colleges, universities, and scientific institutions, fostered with such assiduous care, were becoming the glory of his reign. All these war would paralyze, and, therefore, he was averse to war. But when it came to be a question, in which all the sympathies of the nation, in race and religion, were involved; when the Turk, infatuated by past success, and by his hope of aid from Great

Britain and perhaps other allies, and maddened by fanatic fury and the taste of blood, would listen to no remonstrances, and make no pledges for future good behavior, which he had any intention of fulfilling, Alexander felt that he could no longer resist the voice of his people, and that he was called of God, to chastise the oppressor of his race and his faith.

We do not say that this view was the correct one; we cannot say that his own hands, or those of his predecessors, were wholly clean from acts of cruelty and oppression toward those of another race. The crimes against Poland, extenuate them as we may, were too grievous to permit him to undertake this work without some liability to reproach; but both in ancient and modern times, He "who rules over the armies of heaven, and doeth His will among the inhabitants of earth," has oft-times chosen one oppressor to chastise another, and thus has fulfilled the counsels of His will.

In announcing this as a Holy war, we believe Alexander to have been conscientious, though possibly in error. That he was wholly free from the traditionary ambition of the Romanoff dynasty, to possess Constantinople, and control Asia Minor and Palestine, is hardly possible, though the evidence seems to be conclusive, that this motive alone would not have led him to declare war. He has never shown his father's disposition to acquire and hold more territory; twice during his reign, in his cession of Bessarabia to Turkey, and of Russian America to us, he has manifested a willingness to curtail, rather than expand his vast empire; and his recent conquests in Central Asia, seem to have been prompted more by the desire to control troublesome and savage neighbors, than to acquire more territory. The acquisition of Constantinople, and of Asia Minor, and Syria which must

follow, would involve him in many difficulties, as he is undoubtedly aware; not the least of which would be a probable division of his empire; but, on the other hand, the free navigation of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, is a necessity to him. Whatever may be the result, there can be no doubt that the world would be the gainer, if the Bosphorus and the countries adjacent were in the possession of an enlightened and liberal prince like Alexander, rather than in the hands of a semi-barbarian like the Osmanlî Sultans of the past and present time.

ABDUL HAMID II.,

Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and 35th in the royal line of Osman, is the second son and fourth child of Abdul Medjid, who was Sultan from 1839 to 1861. He was born September 5th, 1842; and, his mother having died while he was young, he was adopted by his father's second wife, herself childless, who was very wealthy, and who made him her heir. His early life was quiet and uneventful; his boyhood and that of his brother (the deposed Murad V.) was a continual scene of merry idleness; their education consisting mostly in amusements and tricks devised for their entertainment by the court slaves; and in an unusually early and complete initiation into the depravities of harem life, which, fortunately, did not affect his vigorous constitution as it did his brother's. Indeed, up to manhood, all the learning he had acquired, amounted to but little more than the ability to read in the Arabic and Turkish languages. When, in 1867, his uncle Abdul Aziz, the then reigning Sultan, visited the Paris Exposition, and England, he was accompanied by the two boys, Abdul

ABDUL-HAMID II., THE PRESENT SULTAN OF TURKEY.

and Murad. This journey was, to young Abdul, the developing point of his character. He saw with a quick and appreciative eye; he acquired a taste for political geography, and for European dress, customs, and interests; and what he then learned, very considerably modified the subsequent course of his life. From April, 1876, both he and his brother Murad were kept under close surveillance, and not allowed to take any part in the political movements going on around them. In his kiosque, or small palace, in the valley of Sweet Waters, which he inherited from his father, he resided quietly, with his wife and two children, all eating at the same table; studying the very extensive and comprehensive collection of military, geographical, and statistical maps which he had there collected; playing with pet animals; and showing in his dress and surroundings his preference for European modes of life. His brother Murad succeeded his uncle Abdul Aziz, as Sultan, May 30, 1876; but being found mentally incompetent to undertake the cares of State, he was deposed August 30th, and Abdul Hamid succeeded him August 31st, and was invested with the sacred sword of Othman, September 7, 1876, under the title of the Padishah Abdul Hamid II. He is an orthodox Turk, and a resolute opponent of the "young Turkish party"—being in fact, an "old Turk," but not one of the fanatical sort—well disposed toward Giaours (infidels), but hating the Greeks. The only concession which he makes to Orientalism in personal dress is wearing the "fez," which he dislikes, but continues to wear as the necessary token of his nationality. He takes a sincere interest in the working classes, and their condition; is measurably free from the peculiar vices of Turkish princes; is neither given to wine, nor a spendthrift; and lives a quiet do-

mestic life with his one sultana-in-chief, though owning, as a matter of course, a number of female slaves, or odalisques. In person he is thin, with bright, quick eyes.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I. (FRANCIS JOSEPH CHARLES),

Emperor of the Austrians and King of Hungary, grandson of Francis II., of Germany (and I. of Austria), and eldest son of the Arch-duke Francis Charles, was born August 1st, 1830. He was carefully educated under the supervision of Count Bombelles; became well versed in the various languages of that polyglot empire, was a fine horseman and *au fait* in military matters. Sent to Pesth to install his cousin Stephen, as Palatinate of Hungary, he gained some popularity by the freedom with which he addressed the Hungarian nobles, in public bodies, in their own language.

The revolutions of 1848, having brought the Austrian Empire almost to the verge of dissolution, there seemed to be an urgent need of procuring a new ruler, who should at least have no unpopular record, and who should be able to conciliate and fuse the discordant elements then existing. At this point, his mother, the Archduchess Sophia, daughter of the King of Bavaria, and sister of the Queens of Prussia and Saxony, and herself a woman of far more ambition, energy, and influence than either her husband, or the reigning Emperor; and who was, also, an arch-spirit of the "anti-revolutionary party," managed to have her son, Francis, then only eighteen years old, declared of age, December 1st, 1848. On the following day, his uncle, the Emperor Ferdinand I., abdicated in his favor—his own father, the Arch-duke Francis Charles, at the same time resigning his right of precedence to the throne, in the legal order of succession.

The young Prince was proclaimed Emperor, December 2d, 1848, and, mounting a throne shaken by internal dissensions, he boldly undertook to give a free, constitutional government to the country. The "logic of events," however, changed his intention, and he considered himself forced to close the National Assembly, and assert the absolute prerogative of the throne. Hungary refused to recognize him as her sovereign, and constituted herself are public under the presidency of Louis Kossuth, on the 14th of April, 1849. Francis Joseph was at war with Sardinia at this time, but Radetsky's decisive victory over Charles Albert at Novara on the 23d of March, had left the young Emperor more nearly at liberty to bring his whole force to bear on Hungary; still the Hungarians were "the bravest of the brave," and fortune would hardly have perched on his banners, if he had not sought and obtained from the Emperor Nicholas of Russia an army of a hundred thousand men to aid in putting down the revolt of Hungary. This assistance was furnished against the indignant protests of France and England, and it crushed the Hungarians by the sheer weight of numbers. In May, 1849, the Austrian Emperor took the field in person, and assisted at the taking of Raab, June 28th, 1849. By the capitulation of Vilagos, August 13th, and the surrender of Comorn in September, he found himself master of Hungary, which he treated as a conquered province. A large number of the chiefs of the insurrection, among them the venerable and excellent Count Louis Batthyani, were put to death; others, like Kossuth and Bem, were condemned *in contumaciam*, and a price set upon their heads.

In Italy, his arms and his policy had also triumphed. Venice had capitulated on the 28th of August, and the King of Sardinia had been compelled by the Treaty of

Peace at Milan on the 9th of August, to pay to Austria fifteen millions of dollars for the expenses of the war. Having thus secured the peace and freedom which was necessary as a basis for a reorganization of the empire, the Emperor, September 1851, proclaimed, by, the edict of Schönbrunn, that his ministers were "responsible to no other political authority but the throne." The heterogeneous nationalities of which the empire consisted were centralized in the Vienna government, and a series of financial and commercial reforms were inaugurated, favorable to the interests of the middle classes. In 1850, a war was scarcely averted with Prussia; but finally Austria's demands were sustained, and the Emperor went on with his plans of reforms, which included a removal of all reminiscences of the revolutionary period —except the abolition of serfage; the annulling of the Constitution of 1849; abolition of trial by jury; a vigorous curbing (which almost amounted to a suppression) of the public press; the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the concurrence with the Concordat; the revival of agriculture, industry, and commerce; negotiations for the establishment of a complete customs-union with the Zollverein of the German States, which was finally ratified by the treaties of Zurich and Constantinople. The reconciliation with Prussia was further cemented by a personal conference between the Emperor and Frederick William IV., at Berlin. Austria sided with the Montenegrins when they rose against Turkey, in 1852, and by her plenipotentiary sent to Constantinople, secured full redress for their grievances. The Emperor's life was attempted February 18, 1853, by a young Hungarian. In 1853–4, when events were pointing strongly to trouble between Russia and Turkey, in the Crimea, the Emperor of Austria endeavored to dis-

suade the Czar Nicholas from his projects, and proclaimed neutrality, April, 1854, unless the interests of the German Confederation should be invaded. The efforts of Russia to force Austria into the war, finally compelled the latter to adopt an armed neutrality; when, proposing to Russia four points as a basis of peace—on Russia's refusal—she assumed so threatening an attitude that the Czar had to withdraw his forces from Turkish territory. An Austrian army then entered Wallachia, and the war on the Danube was virtually ended. Austria seems, then, to have lost the opportunity which offered, to prevent (by joining the Alliance in 1854) the advance of Louis Napoleon across the Alps, and his dictation of peace at Villafranca; and she may be said, also, to have then opened the door for the loss of Lombardy, which she sustained three years later. On the 24th of April, 1854, the Emperor married the Princess Elizabeth Amalie Eugenie, daughter of Maximilian-Joseph, Duke of Bavaria, and, on the mother's side, cousin to the King of Bavaria. In 1857, the imperial couple visited their Italian and Hungarian dominions, signalizing the event by a degree of relaxation of military rules, and a general political amnesty. In 1859, Austria declared war against Sardinia; but, after the battle of Magenta, June 4th, was compelled to retire before the French and Sardinian forces, to the celebrated "quadrilateral," Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago. After the defeat sustained at Solferino, June 24th, in which battle the Emperor Francis Joseph evinced a personal bravery amounting almost to rashness, a peace was effected with France, at Zurich, November 10th; and Lombardy, ceded to Louis Napoleon, was by him transferred to Sardinia. Financial troubles and the necessity of sweeping reforms, without which no

loans could be effected, led to an attempt (under Prime Minister Goluchowski) to re-organize the administration of the empire. By imperial patent, March 5th, 1860, the Reichsrath or Parliament was given an enlarged but limited right of co-operation in legislative and financial affairs; and, by a similar patent, in October following, the several crown land diets received a considerable enlargement of their legislative privileges. These concessions, however, failed to conciliate the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, German Liberals, Saxons, Roumanians and Transylvanians, who compose this great empire; and, by another imperial patent, dated February 26, 1861, the attempt was again made to weld all these incongruous elements into what promised to be a strongly consolidated and truly constitutional monarchy. The principle of the responsibility of crown ministers was sanctioned by the Emperor's decree of May 1, 1862. During the whole of the Schmerling ministry, the relations of Austria with Prussia and Germany continued to be much disturbed; until, at the Conference at Vienna, in July, 1864, between the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, a peace was concluded (October 30). Early in 1865, Joseph Longiewicz, the Polish insurgent, received an imperial pardon; and on the resignation of the Schmerling ministry (June and July), a new cabinet was formed of federalists and conservative Hungarians, under the leadership of Count Belcredi. Meantime, the Schleswig-Holstein difficulties had reached a point which threatened to bring Austria again into collision with Prussia. Both sides commenced to arm, but war was finally averted by the convention of Gastein, August 14, 1865, at which Schleswig was transferred to the government of Prussia, and Holstein to that of Austria, which agreement was, a few days after, confirmed by the Emperor and

the King of Prussia at Salzburg. On September 20, an important manifesto was issued by the Emperor, in which he expressed cordial and conciliatory sentiments toward his Croatian and Hungarian subjects; and in December of the same year, he visited Hungary and opened its Diet in person. In January, 1866, Austria ratified a commercial treaty with England; and the Emperor and Empress visited Pesth-Ofen where they remained until March. War with Prussia again loomed up; the army was placed on a war-footing; war-councils were established at Prague, Pisek, Tabor, and Pilsen; and troops were heavily massed on the Bohemian and Silesian frontiers. The Prussian minister received his passports, and June 17th, an imperial manifesto declared the inevitability of the coming contest. The battle of Sadowa, July 3d—despite the devotion shown by the Austrian troops to their Emperor—was unfavorable, and submission to the demands of the victorious. A North-German Confederation, under the lead of Prussia, became a necessity. The States of Hesse Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein were incorporated into the Prussian kingdom, and by the peace of October 3d, 1866, at Vienna, Venetia and Lombardy were given to Italy.

Prompt to meet emergencies with undaunted front, and courageous in bearing under reverses, the Emperor Francis-Joseph lost no time in making the peace which he saw to be inevitable; and then immediately set himself to the arduous task of re-constructing the empire. Calling to his help Count Beust, the late Prime Minister of Saxony, whom he appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs (October 30, 1866), they took measures for reconstruction based on the idea of a lasting reconciliation between the mother empire and its eldest daughter, Hungary. Beust was created Prime Minister in Feb-

ruary, 1867; and his policy resulted in the coronation, at Buda-Pesth, the ancient capital (June 8), of the Emperor as constitutional King of Hungary, and in a gradual fusion and harmonious identity of interests between these two ancient nations. In November, 1869, the Emperor was present at the opening of the Suez canal. In November, 1870, Count Beust resigned to be succeeded by the present able premier, Count Andrassy, a native Hungarian. In April, 1871, he held a memorable interview with the German Emperor, at Gastein. In the autumn of 1872, the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria met at Berlin. On April 3, 1873, he sanctioned a new electoral reform bill for his German subjects, greatly enlarging their political privileges.

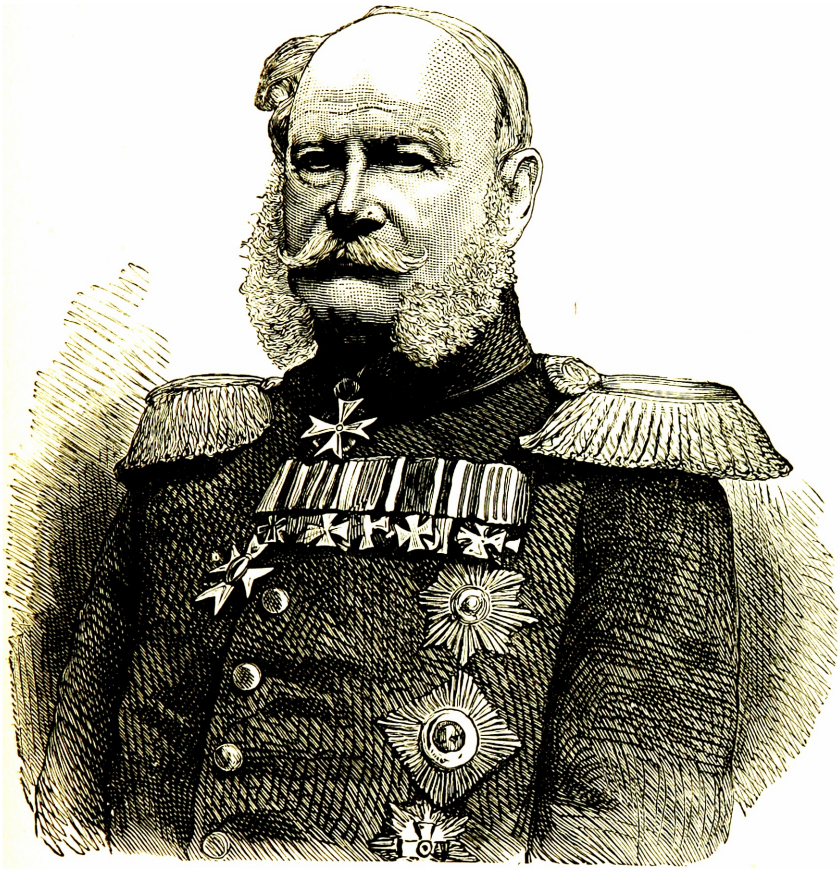
In the troubles in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, and Montenegro in 1875–6, the outrages in Bulgaria, and the war which followed in Servia and Montenegro in 1876, as well as in the subsequent negotiations and remonstrances, the Austrian Emperor has taken an active but dignified part. He has held the principalities back from a premature participation in the war, and has done his utmost to prevent the conflict, and to insure its speedy termination.

His children are: 1st, the Archduchess Gisela, born July 12, 1856, married in 1873 to Prince Leopold of Bavaria; 2d, the heir apparent to the throne, the Arch-Duke Rudolph Francis Charles Joseph, born August 21, 1858; 3d, the Archduchess Maria, born April, 1868.

WILLIAM I.,

Emperor of Germany.

Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig, better known as William I., King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, is the sec-



KING WILLIAM, EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

ond son of King Friedrich Wilhelm III. and Queen Luise, a princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. He was born March 22, 1797, and from his childhood was destined to a military career, receiving the best military education attainable in Europe. The defeat of the Prussians at Jena, and the humiliation which that defeat caused his father, made a very deep impression upon the boy, and he resolved, if his life was spared, to wipe out the stain from his family escutcheon; he entered the army very young, and though but sixteen or seventeen years of age distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, which terminated in the downfall of Napoleon, and the restoration of Prussia. He remained in the army, and was remarkable for his enthusiastic love of military science, and his unwearied patience in acquainting himself with even the minutest details of the service. In 1840 he was appointed Governor of Pomerania, and on his father's death the same year, and the accession of his elder brother Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to the Prussian throne, he received the title of Prince of Prussia, as heir presumptive. It was long, however, before he attracted much attention, or acquired any prominence in political affairs. He was regarded as an absolutist, and as having no inclination for civil life, and was consequently very unpopular. In 1848, at the very commencement of the revolution of that year in Germany, he was compelled to leave the country and go to England. After spending nine months in that country, he returned, and was elected a member of the National Assembly, but took no part in its deliberations. In the spring of 1849, he took command of the military force sent against the South German insurgents, and suppressed the revolution in the Palatinate and Baden. In the Crimean War his sympathies were with Russia.

When, in 1855 and 1856, the Austrian policy was supreme in German affairs, the Prince opposed it, and with so much vigor and good sense that public opinion began to change in regard to him, and he was regarded by the Conservative party, as one of the strongest bulwarks of the Prussian power. Still, he was by no means popular, and when, in consequence of the unfortunate insanity of his brother, he became Regent, in 1858, there were frequent collisions between him and the liberty-loving Germans. On the 2d of January, 1861, in consequence of the death of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. he became King of Prussia, and at once, even before his coronation, began to take measures for the reorganization of the army, which he regarded as the most effective means of elevating the Prussian nation. The people looked upon the army simply as an instrument of oppression. The pertinacity with which he insisted on his measures of reorganization, alienated for the time the affections of the people, and though he was crowned with great pomp and display at Königsburg, October 18, 1861, yet the people looked on coldly, and he seemed to be destined to be an unloved monarch, and one whose death or dethronement would be desired. In his relations to the popular branch of the Prussian Parliament or Reichsrath, after his appointment of Otto von Bismarck as President of his cabinet, there seemed to be danger of an open rupture between the king and the legislature. Bismarck was regarded as the impersonation of all the conservative elements of the government.

But two or three years later, all this was changed, and very suddenly. The brief war with Denmark, in 1864, showed that the reorganization of the army had rendered it very effective, and the people began to see the wisdom of the king in insisting upon it. Count

Bismarck too had shown himself a wise and skillful counsellor, and one who had the interests of his country at heart. When, in 1866, Bismarck had become convinced that the interests, not only of Prussia, but of all the rest of Germany required that Austria should be driven out of the German Confederation, and that should this require a war, such a war would be preferable to their present condition, it was a very bold step to which he had undertaken to convert his royal master; but neither he nor the king flinched from the consequences for a moment, and though the liberals condemned their course in the most violent terms, yet the short, sharp, and decisive conflict between Prussia and Austria, known as the Seven Weeks' War, in 1866, convinced even the most timid and stupid, of Bismarck's keen perception and complete mastery of the great questions of the time. From this time forward the popularity of the king was unbounded, and Bismarck, Von Moltke, and Von Roon shared with him in popular esteem. After the war, the king, with his old ideas of "the divinity which doth hedge about a king," was very reluctant to annex Hanover, Hesse and Nassau to the North German Confederation, which at this time was only an enlarged Prussia; but Bismarck's statesmanship was more than a match for the king's hesitation and royalist scruples. On the 26th of July, 1867, a *publicandum* was issued at Ems, by which the king placed himself at the head of the newly formed North German Union, and assumed, for himself and his successor to the Prussian crown, the rights and duties connected with this new dignity. But the greatest glory which has surrounded the brows of William I. was gained in the war between Germany and France in 1870–71. While the extraordinary prevision of Bismarck had led to such preparation for the

contest as made the success of Germany a certainty from the first, yet the dignity, courage, firmness, and presence of mind manifested by the king, in all the negotiations which preceded the war, won for him the most enthusiastic admiration of the entire German nation, and that admiration was still further increased by his superb combinations, his brilliant strategy, and his modesty under great victories. He had, indeed, the ablest coadjutors, both in the field and in the cabinet, with which any sovereign of modern times was ever favored; but a larger proportion of the honor really belonged to the king, than foreign nations have supposed. All the great strategic movements were planned by him, and though Von Moltke must be regarded, as in many respects, the first soldier of his time, yet he justly and willingly divides the honors with his king. In receiving the surrender of Napoleon III., and in the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Peace, the bearing and conduct of William I., was, in the highest degree, dignified and honorable. So deeply were the minor powers of the German States impressed by his grand and lofty character, that on the 18th of January, 1871, they offered him, unanimously, the imperial crown of Germany at Versailles, while he was yet on the field of his greatest triumphs.

His return to Berlin, March 15, 1871, and his formal coronation as Emperor of Germany, was an occasion which called out the indescribable enthusiasm of his people, and offered a marked contrast to the scene of ten years previous, when, amid an unsympathizing crowd, he had received the Prussian crown. Since his return to Germany, he has been engaged in the difficult task of guarding the State against the encroachments of the Roman Church, and measurably against those of other State Churches, and also against the pressure of the old

NASSIR-ED-DEEN, SHAH OF PERSIA.

German aristocracy. The emperor is a man of sincere piety, of most simple and abstemious habits, and notwithstanding his military training and habits, a man of gentle and winning manners. He is an excellent judge of character, and binds his friends to him as with hooks of steel.

NASSER-ED-DEEN,

Shah (*i. e.*, King of Kings) of Persia,

is the fourth ruler of the dynasty of the Khadjars, who took possession of the crown after a civil war extending over fifteen years, from 1779 to 1794. The members of the line have been Aga Mohammed, 1794 to 1797; Feth Ali, from 1797 to 1835; Mohammed, from 1835 to 1848, and the present Shah.

He was born September 4, 1829, and was the son of Mohammed Shah, whom he succeeded September 10, 1848; and grandson of Abbaz Mirza. His mother was Queen Valliat, of the Kadjar tribe. He is well educated, versed in the Persian, Turkish, French and English languages, and in general history; has a very clear understanding of the relations of his kingdom with the other European powers; and though simple in personal habits, and mild and gentle in manner, has much will and energy of character. In 1854, he declared his neutrality in the then existing war between Russia and Turkey, but shortly before its close entered into a treaty with Russia. In the following year, November 1, 1856, the British Government in India declared war against him in consequence of the occupation of Herát by Prussian troops. After a few months of hostilities, during which General Outram captured Kurrach, Bushire and other places, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris by Lord Cowley and

the Persian Ambassador, in which ample satisfaction was given to England. Since that time the Shah has had several brief wars with the Turkomans, and other tribes of Turkestan. He has been of late very friendly with Great Britain, and in 1866 made a concession for a telegraphic line between Europe and India, to pass through Persia. His cabinet ministers and advisers have always been selected from the liberal or "reform party" of Persian politics; and his only trouble seems to have arisen from the fact that his views of government, and his wish to promote the comfort and material interests of his people, have been too far in advance, to be readily appreciated by the people themselves, and have excited the bitterest animosity of the Mussulman priesthood, and of the richer classes. By these, the announcement to foreign courts, in 1872, of his intention to make an extensive tour of Europe, was bitterly stigmatized, and every effort made to thwart its being carried into execution. The Shah, however, persisted in his plans—and the year 1873 was consequently rendered memorable in the annals of Persia, by a tour—the first ever made by a potentate of that kingdom—through the great Christian centers of European civilization. He was taken across the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan, in a Russian war steamer, arriving there, May 15th. He visited Russia, Germany, Belgium, England, France, Austria, Italy, and Turkey, receiving everywhere the greatest honor from royal circles, and exciting in every nation the liveliest curiosity to witness his person and his retinue. His visit to Berlin resulted in a commercial treaty between Persia and Germany. In Constantinople, he received and graciously answered a deputation of Jews, who especially commended to his favorable notice, their brethren resident in Persia; and a treaty was executed with Turkey, by which his Persian

subjects residing in the Ottoman Empire, were placed, as to civil suits, on a level with the natives, and, in criminal cases, were made amenable to the laws of Turkey. While in England, he granted to Baron Reuter a most extraordinary "concession," by which the latter was allowed to develope the resources of Persia, in trading, mining, in use of forests, grants of land, and building of railroads, post-roads, etc., etc., with free importation of all needed material, and the use of rivers, canals, wells, etc., together with the administration of taxes for twenty-five years, etc., etc. This, the grandest concession ever made to a private individual and a foreigner, was finally rescinded, in consequence of the Baron's default to meet some of the terms of the agreement, as to time. During this tour, the Shah kept a diary, which, on his return, was published in the original Persian, and has since been translated into English. Its publication does not reflect great credit upon the Shah's literary abilities. Meanwhile, the Mussulman priesthood, who had so opposed his journey, had not been idle during his absence, and he no sooner reached the limits of his kingdom, on his return, than he was met with an overwhelmingly unanimous popular demand for the deposition of his Prime Minister (or Sadri-Azam), Mirza Hussein Khan. who had accompanied him abroad. The storm was too strong to be wholly defied, but the Shah complied only so far as to take from him his portfolio as Prime Minister. He did not hesitate to speak his mind plainly to his people in regard to the matter; and soon after (July, 1874) raised his favorite Mirza Hussein Khan—who is appreciated as one of the best statesmen which Persia has ever had—to the sublime rank of "Sepezel-arazam" and made him Minister of War and of Foreign Affairs. In addition to these duties, the favored minister controls

a great portion of the affairs of the Interior; has inaugurated an extensive system of railroads and internal improvements; has vigorously enforced the payment of tax arrearages; and, with the approval of his Sublime Master, has made many movements looking toward the relief of the masses, from the extortions of the clergy, and the thraldom enforced by the rich.

Except this determined, and still doubtful contest with the priesthood, the events of the Shah's reign have not been eventful. In 1871 and a part of 1872, Persia suffered from a terrible famine. In 1863 he had made a visit to the Mahometan shrine of Kerbela, which was, for oriental magnificence, an event in modern eastern history, realizing what song and tradition has handed down to us of ancient "royal progresses." His attendant retinue consisted of 15,000 souls and 8,000 horses; and he sent on to Bagdad, in advance, embroidered shawls, a tent, a silver carriage, etc. The Turkish Sultan, not to be outdone, entertained the Shah at that city with a review of 30,000 troops, and matched his visitor's display with gold dinner services, and diamond mounted cups and decanters.

The Shah enjoys the distinction of owning more wealth, in the form of precious stones, than any other monarch in the world. His strong box, as described by an Englishman who was so fortunate as to see it, consists of a small room, fourteen by twenty feet, reached by a very steep stair, and entered by a very small door. Here are $35,000,000 worth of jewels, among which is the Kaianian crown, of flower-pot shape, topped by an uncut ruby as large as a hen's egg, supposed to be from Siam; two lamb-skin caps adorned with splendid aigrettes of diamonds; trays of pearls, rubies, and emerald necklaces; hundreds of rings, belts, etc., among

which is the Kaianian belt, about a foot deep, weighing some eighteen pounds, a crusted mass of magnificent jewels; two sword scabbards, each valued at $250,000; the finest turquoise in the world, three or four inches long, without flaw; pearls worth $300,000, etc., etc.

The Shah has two children, viz.: Muzaffer-ed-Deen, heir-apparent (though the Shah is by the laws of Persia allowed to indicate his successor without reference to this), born in 1850, and Djilal-ed-Dauleh, born in 1853.

VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

(MARIA ALBERTO-EUGENIO, FERDINANDO-THOMASO),

King of Italy, and formerly king of Sardinia—also titular king of Cyprus and Jerusalem—is the eldest son of Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, and Theresia, daughter of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany. He was born March 14, 1820; was carefully educated in the science and arts of war, and, as Duke of Savoy, was married, April 12, 1842, to the Archduchess Adelaide, of Austria. In the revolution of 1848, in command of the troops of Savoy, he accompanied his father to the field, and distinguished himself at the battle of Goïto (where he was wounded in the thigh), and at that of Novara, March 23, 1849. The defeat of that day was immediately followed by the abdication of his father, Charles Albert, and Victor found himself king, in the face of a victorious foe, and beset by factions at home, where he was viewed with suspicion, because of his alliance with the House of Austria. The Liberals, however, were quickly reassured by the character of his first cabinet; the finances and the army were soon put on a better footing, and he succeeded in obtaining from Austria less humiliating terms of peace than had been

at first imposed upon his father; the treaty, however, not being signed until August, 1849. His first efforts, on ascending the throne, were to reorganize the system of education; to establish railways, and promote free trade, in pursuance of which he concluded several commercial treaties with England. He refused the offer made by Austria for the cession of Parma, as an equivalent for the abolition of the Constitution; and, when Genoa revolted and expelled his troops, he speedily reconquered it. His strenuous efforts for the prosperity of Sardinia were mostly successful; but the great feature of his reign has been his persistent struggle with the Papal Court at Rome. Supported by Count Cavour, so long as that statesman lived, he abrogated the privileges of the clergy, confiscated much church property, and revoked the monopoly of education, previously enjoyed by religious associations. The Pope excommunicated him; but the thunderbolt had not its old force; intelligent and freedom-loving men in Italy and elsewhere looked upon him as the coming liberator, and when he replied with a manly protest, they rallied round him in spite of the Vatican's thunders. He lost, within a brief time, in 1855, mother, wife, brother, and youngest child, and was himself dangerously ill, and the church party proclaimed that he was visited by the wrath of God. But he has lived to overthrow the temporal power of the Pope, and to make Rome his capital. By treaty, signed April 10, 1855, he joined the Anglo-French alliance against Russia, contributing a contingent of 17,000 troops, under General De La Marmora, which won a victory on the banks of the Tchernaya. Sardinia, thus elevated in the respect of Europe, was ably represented at the Paris conference, and Victor himself, visiting France and England in that same year,

received distinguished marks of cordiality from the sovereigns and people of both countries. In France he was made a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and in England was invested with the noble order of the Garter. These affiliations were still further strengthened by the marriage (January, 1859,) of his daughter Clotilde, to Prince Napoleon; and almost immediately after, ensued the war of Italian Independence, in which France and Sardinia joined forces against Austria. Victor Emmanuel was invested, by his parliament, with dictatorial powers, and joined by the French Emperor, who assumed command of the two armies, met and defeated the enemy at Montebello, May 20th; at Palestra, where he displayed great bravery, May 30th and 31st; supported McMahon at Magenta, June 4; entered Milan with the French Emperor, and with him was present at Solferino, June 24th, where he faced and signally defeated the Austrian general Benedek. The Austrians now expelled from Lombardy, and the princes from Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the papal States—in all of which the people declared, by ballot, for annexation to Sardinia, he found himself master of the whole of Italy, except the two Sicilies, Venice (reserved to Austria by the Zurich treaty) and the small territory around the city of Rome. The Garibaldian revolution in the two Sicilies, and the intervention of his own army, under Cialdini, in September, 1860, confirmed the consolidation of the new kingdom of Italy; and Victor Emmanuel entering Naples in triumph on the 7th of November, accompanied by Garibaldi, became King of Italy, which title was confirmed by the parliament at Turin, March 17th, 1861, and promptly recognized by France and England. By treaty signed in 1864, the seat of government was to be transferred to Florence

in 1865, which was eventually done, and the French troops were to be withdrawn from Rome in 1867. Meanwhile, in 1866, Italy having joined Prussia in war against Austria, met with a severe defeat of its army at Custozza, June 24th, and of its fleet off Lissa, July 20th; but the success of its Prussian allies led to a treaty of peace at Vienna, October 3d, by which Venice and the Venetian territory were ceded to Italy, and Victor Emmanuel entered the city November 7th. In 1870, the French troops, who had not been withdrawn from Rome in 1867, as agreed upon, and whose continued presence there, had been the cause of some fighting between the French and Italians, finally returned home in consequence of the Franco-German war; and in September of the same year, at the invitation of the citizens of Rome, the Italian army, under General Cadorna, took possession of the Holy City, to which the seat of the Italian government was (in July, 1871) removed. The Pope has since that time remained in his own portion of the city of Rome (that lying on the right or west bank of the Tiber), where the great palace of the Vatican, and many of the most celebrated churches are found. Since Victor Emmanuel has made Rome his capital, he has established religious liberty there, and has done much to beautify and improve the city. His eldest son, heir apparent to the Italian throne, is an able and popular prince; his second son, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was for a time King of Spain; and his youngest daughter, Maria Pia, is Queen Consort of the King of Portugal.

GEORGE I.,

CHRISTIAN WILLIAM FERDINAND ADOLPHUS GEORGE,

King of Greece, born at Copenhagen, December 24th, 1845, is the second son of King Christian IX. of Denmark, and a brother of the Princess of Wales. He served for some time in the Danish navy. When, in 1863, King Otho I. of Greece abdicated his throne, and his successor was to be appointed in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed by a popular vote, their choice, on the first ballot, was unanimously for Prince Alfred of England. His acceptance, however, would have been an infringement of the existing understanding beween France, Russia, and England (then exercising a joint protectorate over that kingdom), to the effect that no prince of either power should accept the throne of Greece. England, therefore, declined to accede to the offer—but intimated her readiness, in case a king was found who would be unobjectionable, to abandon her protectorate over the Ionian Islands, and give them up to Greece. It was then offered to, and declined by Duke Ernest, of Saxe Coburg Gotha; and finally was tendered, with the approval of the Great Powers, to the young Danish prince, Christian, who appearing to be the most available candidate, was unanimously chosen King of the Hellenes, by the National Assembly, at Athens, March 30th, 1863; accepted the election, June 4th, and, on the 27th of the same month, was declared of age by decree of the Assembly. On the 13th of July he took formal possession of the throne, having previously relinquished his rights to the succession in Denmark, to his younger brother, Waldemar. He was permitted to remain a Lutheran, on condition that his chil-

dren should be brought up in the faith of the Greek Church.

Greece, at the time of his arrival and accession to the throne, was in a very disturbed state, but the discordant elements soon subsided into quiet. On the 31st of October he took the formal oath of fealty to the Constitution, and soon after received from England, as had been promised, the Ionian Islands. Partisan intrigue caused some political trouble and frequent changes of ministry detrimental to the general welfare; but the impoverished finances of the kingdom were and have been the greatest obstacle to its prosperity. In 1866, the assistance furnished to the Cretans by blockade runners, and affording an asylum to 30,000 Christian fugitives, mostly women and children, nearly involved Greece in a war with Turkey—which, however, was finally averted. The same year King George's sister, Dagmar, married the Russian Czarovitch (heir-apparent); and October 27, 1867, he married the Grand Duchess Olga, daughter of the Grand Duke Constantine, and niece of the Czar. Their children are: Constantinos, Crown Prince and Duke of Sparta, born August 2d, 1868; George, born June 25th, 1869; Alexander, born August 30th, 1870, Nicholas, born February 2d, 1872; and Marie, born March 4th, 1876.

King George has not been wanting in sympathy with his people in the present exciting epoch—but while the sense of the outrages inflicted upon their co-religionists has made the blood of every Greek boil, it has been necessary to hold them back from a declaration of war, till the time should come, when the blows they should strike against their old enemy, would prove most effective; and that time having come, war will probably soon be declared.

GRAND DUKE ALEXANDER,

Czarovitch, heir-apparent to the Russian Imperial throne (since the death of his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, in April, 1865), is the second son of the Czar, Alexander and Maria Alexandrovna, daughter of Grand Duke Louis, Princess of Hesse. He was born March 10th, 1845; married November 9th, 1866, the Princess Maria Sophie Frederique Dagmar, of Denmark, daughter of King Christian IX. She is now styled the Grand Duchess Marie, the Czarevna. He is Lieut.-General, Hetman of the Cossacks, and Colonel of many regiments in the imperial service. Politically, like most crown princes, he is said to be in opposition to his father, and greatly in love with French policy and French ways.

CHARLES I.

Prince (Domnu) of Roumania.

Charles I. (Prince Karl Eitel Friedrich Zephyrin Ludwig of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen), reigning prince of Roumania, or the United Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, was born April 20, 1839, and is the second son of the late Prince Karl of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, chief of the second of the non-regnant lines of the princely house of Hohenzollern. The first ruler of Roumania was the notorious Colonel Alexander Couza, who had been elected Hospodar or Lord of Wallachia and Moldavia, under the title of Prince Alexander John I. in 1859, but was expelled, by the people, from the country in February, 1866. At that time Prince Charles, as a cadet of the house of Hohenzollern, was a lieutenant in the second regiment of Prussian dragoons, and was proposed to the Moldavo-Wal-

lachian Chamber of Deputies as their Domnu, or Prince, by the Prussian minister, and elected by them. He accepted his election May 10, 1866, and made his public entry into Bucharest May 22, 1866, having two days previous made his acknowledgment of the Suzerainty of Turkey, as its tributary. He was recognized by the Turkish government July 11, 1866, and in October following received the formal investiture at the hands of the Sultan in Constantinople.

The first three years of the reign of Prince Charles were only made notable by internal agitations of the principalities and by parliamentary crises. The Jews had for some years previous, particularly in Moldavia, been the objects of bitter cruelty and persecutions, and their sufferings had at length attracted the attention of the European powers, who, through their consuls or charges, represented to the prince that these barbarities were in many instances committed by the local authorities themselves. Their representations on this point proved effective. The powers also repeatedly called the attention of the prince to the fact that large bodies of armed men were allowed to be recruited in Roumania for the purpose of creating disturbance in Bulgaria, and even brought forward proofs that he had himself aided in preparing for a revolution in Bulgaria. This charge could not be denied, and from that time to the present, Bucharest, the Roumanian capital, has been the head-quarters of a revolutionary committee, mostly Sclavonic, which has had for its objects the promotion of revolt from the Turkish government in the provinces of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina. That the inhabitants of these provinces have had sufficient cause to revolt from their Turkish masters is very probable, but neither the Roumanians, who are descend-

ants of the ancient Romans and Dacians, and not Sclavonians in any sense, nor their Prince, who is a German, have any right of kindred or race to help on this revolt, or as they have done, to endeavor to provoke it. The difficulties between the Prince and the Chamber of Deputies, led to the dissolution of the chamber in 1869. The legislative bodies, since that time, have been more tractable and there has been less quarreling.

Prince Charles is a man of fine culture, a liberal and industrious ruler, and endowed with excellent personal qualities. Until recently, however, he has found his position one of great trouble and anxiety. He has had to contend with a factious opposition, composed of the adherents of his predecessor, Prince Alexander Couza, and of the irreconcilable Red Republicans or Communists, who had attained considerable numbers and influence before 1870; and their opposition had become so formidable in 1869–70, that, worn out with their constant wrangling, he avowed the purpose of abdicating and returning to Germany, and it was with great difficulty that he was persuaded to forego his intention. But even his enemies well knew how important his influence for good in Roumania has been, and from very shame they have of late ceased their opposition in a great measure.

An old Roumanian statesman said of him, not long since:* "He is a better Roumanian than most of us. He has dismissed from his mind all other sympathies, all other associations. He lives only to serve his adopted country, and has given himself to us without the least reservation. We, none of us know so much about the country, its qualities, properties, resources, susceptibilities, and capabilities as he does. He examines into every-

* Quoted by Mr. George M. Towle in "The Principalities of the Danube."

thing himself; he works harder than any of his subjects. What he has done for the army is above all praise. He brought us order, calmness, the possibility of putting constitutional principles of government into practice, even those whose pretensions to the Hospodariat have been shelved for an indefinite period of time, by his steady mastery of the obstacles thrust in his way, have, for the most part, been won over by his amiability, or fairly cowed by his straightforward honesty."

The Prince has sought to improve the agriculture, commerce, and education of his country, has established normal and other schools, railways, and improvements of the river navigation, and from its abundant crops of wheat and other grain, and its manufactures, Roumania might be a wealthy State; but the ambition to have a standing army and a well-trained territorial army of militia has been the bane of his administration. The principalities had in 1876 a debt of $107,000,000, since largely increased, most of it contracted for war material and for railways. During the late war in Servia, he was very desirous of joining Servia, and since the proclamation of war between Russia and Turkey, he has declared Roumania independent, and called out his army and reserves, making a force of about 90,000 men, and has made the principalities the camping-ground of Russia, and proposes to guard the passes of the Danube, while the Russian army pass over to attack the Turks. More than this Austria will not allow him to do; but this is sufficient to make Turkey his mortal enemy, if she ever has the opportunity of revenge.

PRINCE MILAN, HESPODAR OF SERVIA.

MILAN OBRENOVIC IV.,

Hospodar (Prince) of Servia, and the 4th of that dynasty, is a grandson of Ephraem Obrenovitch, brother of Milos, and a nephew of Prince Michael Obrenovic III. who was assassinated in June, 1868. He was born August 10, 1854, at Jassy, of a Moldavian mother, who had married the only son of Prince Ephraem; and was adopted by Prince Michael, who was childless. In 1864, he was sent to Paris to be educated, and there remained until his studies were interrupted by the events of June, 1869, and by the assassination of Prince Michael, his adopted father. Returning to Servia, he was proclaimed Prince, in July, 1868, the government being vested in a Council of Regency, during his minority. On becoming of age, he ascended the constitutional throne of Servia, August 22, 1872. Prince Milan, who is now in his twenty-third year, is represented as an amiable, but rather weak-minded young man, not well adapted for the trying times on which he has fallen. He is very much under Russian influence, and his declaration of war against Turkey in 1876, though prompted, in part, by sympathy for the unfortunate inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of them of the same race and religion with his own people, was certainly impolitic, as Servia had itself no ground of complaint against Turkey. He developed no military ability, and his armies were defeated, and his country so far imperiled, that only the prompt interposition of the great powers in its behalf, saved it from the Turk. In the present war, his position is a trying one, as Austria is on the alert to compel neutrality, and his personal enemy, Prince Karageorgeovitch, is watching for an opportunity to dethrone him.

NICOLAS I.

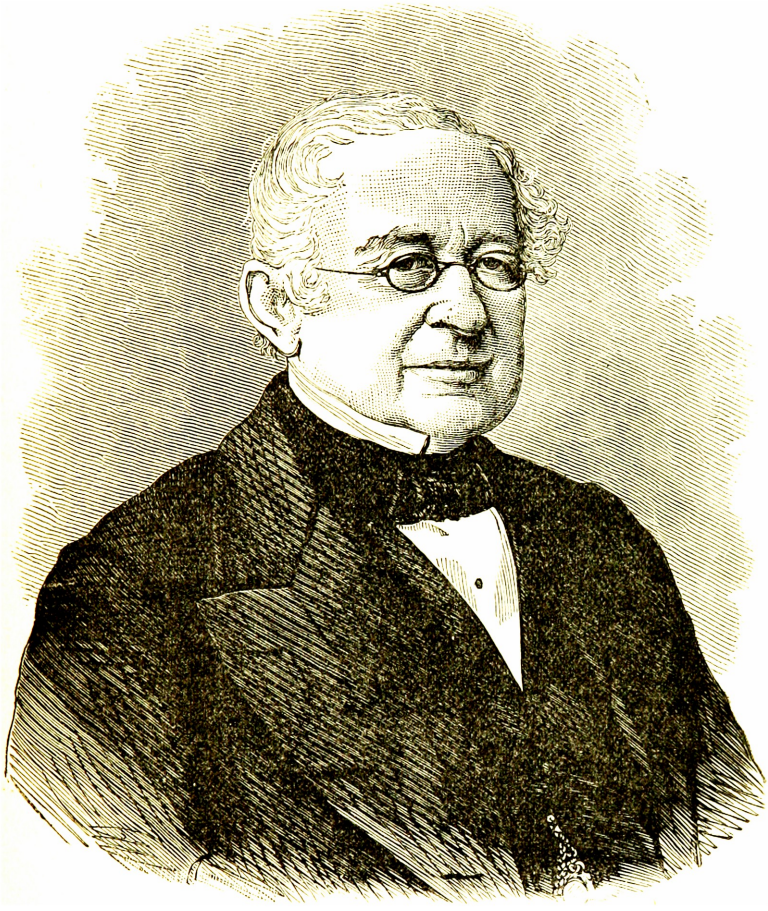
NIKIZZA PETROVITCH NIEGŪSH,

Hospodar, or reigning Prince of Montenegro, son of the Prince Mirko Petrovitch, brother of the late Prince Danilo, Hospodar of Montenegro, who was assassinated August 12th, 1860, at Cattaro, was born at Cattaro about 1841; he pursued his early studies in his native city, but thence proceeded to Paris, where he completed his college course at the Lyceum of Louis le Grand. His uncle, Danilo, had intended him as his successor, and his widow, the Princess Darinka, on the 13th of August (the day after the assassination), placed the princely bonnet of Montenegro upon his head, saying, as she did so, that she was obeying the wishes of her late husband. She then brought the Notables, and the people in their several orders, up to take the oath of allegiance to the young prince. A Pasha, sent by Abdul Medjid, came soon after to congratulate the young Hospodar. Prince Nicolas at this time publicly announced that he should subordinate his views to those of Napoleon III., who had granted $50,000 to his government, and under whose protection he was. At the same time he showed a disposition to cultivate friendly relations with the Sultan, and to submit their frontier difficulties to the arbitration of foreign powers. The people recognized in him an amiable and judicious ruler, but there were fears that he was too much under the influence of his father, the Prince Mirko, who had for years been at the head of the war party.

In February, 1861, the old border contests between the Turks and Montenegrins, which had for a long time been provoked by the uncertainty concerning the boundary lines between the two States, were renewed with

great fury, and the reports of the speedy disembarkation of Garibaldi, the massacres and pillage of the irregular Turkish troops in the district of Gatsko, and the slogan of insurrection, raised by the Christian inhabitants in Herzegovina, hastened the march of events. The Turkish fleet blockaded the coasts of the Adriatic, and Omer Pasha, was sent with a large body of troops to coerce Herzegovina. On the 4th of September, 1861, Dervish Pasha, in command of a division of the army of Omer Pasha, crossed the frontier and entered Montenegro. The Turks were defeated at Duga on the 4th of October, and at Djubo on the 25th. But the Turks took their revenge at Pira on the 21st of November. The war continued with nearly equal fortune for both sides, through the winter and spring; the Turks outnumbered them five to one, and were well armed and equipped, but the Montenegrins, with their old and rusty muskets, and their fearful poverty, were fighting for their homes and families, and every mountain pass was an ambuscade, and when their ammunition was gone, they rained down stones upon the heads of their foes. In September, 1862, at the behest of the allied powers, the Turks made peace with the Montenegrins. They gained nothing of value to compensate for their immense losses; and the brave Montenegrins, who had gone into the war mainly from sympathy for the oppressed Christians of Herzegovina, had sacrificed their homes and their stalwart sons—2,000 or more able-bodied men out of a population of not quite 150,000—and had very little left, for their soil is so sterile that its principal product is *men*. In all this terrible contest the young prince Nicolas greatly endeared himself to his people, aiding them to the utmost of his ability, and ever ready to take the post of greatest danger. Just before the treaty of peace, in August, 1862, a renegade Montenegrin

in Turkish employ attempted to assassinate him, and succeeded in wounding him slightly, but the assassin drew upon himself the fierce vengeance of the people. The Montenegrins, poverty-stricken and destitute as they were, were long in recovering from the depressing effects of the war, having no foreign trade, and being shut off from the sea by a narrow strip of land, belonging to Austria-Hungary. Pitying their poverty, the prince, in 1868, requested that he might relinquish all the revenue which had hitherto been collected for him, except the sum of $1,750. The Russian and French governments, on learning of this noble sacrifice on his part, granted to him, the former $7,000, and the latter $10,000 annually. The little Republic was maintained in peace and quietness, and with gradually increasing prosperity, till the outbreak of the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875; but then the old heroic blood boiled, and the Montenegrin volunteers began to join the insurgents. When the Bulgarian massacres took place, in May, 1876, even the gentle Nicolas saw that war could not longer be delayed, and on the 2d of July, 1876, he and the Hospodar of Servia united in declaring war against Turkey. The war thus inaugurated, continued with varying fortune till December, 1876, when Servia, having suffered serious defeat, but Montenegro having more than held her own, an armistice was declared which resulted in temporary peace with Servia, and negotiations for the same end with Montenegro; but the war now in progress has already again involved Montenego, and has led to a fiercer contest than any in the past. The Turks have met with fearful losses, but there was danger that the Montenegrins might be crushed by overwhelming numbers, until, by the advance of Russia across the Danube, the Turks were compelled to withdraw their troops from Montenegro.



PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF, PREMIER OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

II. STATESMEN.

GORTSCHAKOFF, PRINCE ALEXANDER MICHAELOVITCH,

Russian Diplomatist, Statesman, Minister of War, and cousin to General Gortschakoff, the defender of Sebastopol, was born July 16, 1798, and educated at the Lyceum of Zarskoe-Selo. His diplomatic life commenced, as an attaché of Count Nesselrode, at the congresses of Laybach and Verona; and, in 1824, he was secretary to the Russian embassy at London. In 1830, he was *chargé d'affaires* at the Court of Tuscany; and in 1832 was attached, as councillor to the Russian embassy at Vienna, where, in the absence of his chief, he had frequent occasion to discharge important duties; and finally succeeded to the position, on the death of the ambassador. In 1841, he was sent to Stuttgart, where he successfully negotiated the marriage of the Grand Duchess Olga, of Russia, to the Prince Royal (the present King) of Wirtemberg. During the events of 1848–9, he maintained an attitude of neutrality; though he was credited, in 1850, with having influenced the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand I., of Austria, in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph. In that year, Prince Gortschakoff was ambassador plenipotentiary to the German Diet at Frankfort. In 1851, he attended the Emperor Alexander, in his conference with the Emperor Napoleon III., at Stuttgart. During the discussions among the Great Powers of Europe on the Eastern question, the Prince was ambassador at Vienna, and it was at his instance, that the Russian government accepted the four points, which formed the basis of the Conference of Paris, in 1856; and in the same year, he was recalled to St. Petersburg, to succeed Nesselrode as

Minister of War. His friendliness to France increased as the latter became more hostile to Austria on the Italian question; and his desire to restore the *prestige* of Russia, which had been seriously impaired by the Crimean War, led him, in 1860, to address a circular dispatch to the European powers, in reference to the Sicilian and Neapolitan revolution, in which he enunciated the same principles of nationality as Russia had always maintained in regard to the Christians of the East; and, while disavowing any wish for revenge for past defeats, still boldly remonstrated against any interference with Neapolitan affairs on the part of the Western powers. He decidedly favored the French Expedition to Syria, of 1863, for the protection of the Christians in that land; and declined to join France and Great Britain in their unfriendly attitude towards the United States, at the outbreak of the Civil War. During the Polish Insurrection of 1863, his outspoken avowal of the determination of Russia to stand no dictation, and to manage her own affairs, rendered him very popular at home, and respected abroad; and won for him, from the Emperor, the new title of Vice-chancellor of the empire; and shortly after he was promoted to the full Chancellorship. In 1866, he effected the complete separation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland from the Holy See. In October, 1870, while Paris was besieged by the Germans, Prince Gortschakoff seized the opportunity to undo the injury which had been done to Russian interests in the East, by the treaty of Paris, in 1856, by issuing a circular to the various representatives of his government abroad, announcing the resolution of the Emperor to be no longer controlled by that treaty, so far as it limited his rights of sovereignty in the Black Sea. This led to a Conference of European Powers, held at London in January, 1871, where

he succeeded in securing a revision of that treaty, and the formation of another, by which neutral rights in the Black Sea were abolished. For this masterly stroke of dilpomacy, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the title of Serene Highness. In the Central Asia question, in 1873–4, while maintaining firmly the aggressive policy of his own government, he still manifested a friendly disposition toward England. While Prince Gortschakoff has the reputation, especially with the English Conservatives, of belonging to that class of diplomatists and statesmen who believe that "language was invented to conceal thought," and while his motives and declarations in regard to the Eastern question have been very freely called in question, by writers of the Disraeli-Derby school, there is no reason to believe that he has been guilty of deception or duplicity in the course he has taken in regard to Turkey; and all the declamation on this subject is based upon English jealousy and envy. The Prince is an old man, seventy-nine years of age, and even though sprung from a long-lived race, has no reason to believe that he would live to see the end of such a conflict, if once commenced; his career as a Minister of Foreign Affairs does not date back to the reign of Nicholas, whose favorite was the wily Nesselrode—while the reorganization of the army, the condition of the finances, the recent large war expenditure in Central Asia, the heavy rate of taxation, and above all, the peaceful instincts and principles of the Czar, were sufficient to restrain him from entering at this time upon a war with Turkey, if it could have been avoided.

It is true that there were three strong influences among the Russian people in favor of war—their sympathy in religious belief with the oppressed and outraged Bulgarians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, and Servians, a sympathy

which among a large class of Russians was very strong and almost uncontrollable;—the ethnic plea which sought to draw all the Sclavonic peoples into one government of which the Czar should be the head; (this influence is represented by the Sclavonic committee, which has been openly organized under governmental sanction, whose ostensible object was to render aid to the sick, wounded, and perishing Sclavonians of the Turkish provinces, and to enable them to maintain suits against their oppressors. Previous to January, 1877, this committee had raised $2,000,000 for these purposes); and, thirdly, the political and economical influence which sought control of the Black Sea, and markets for its products, in or near the Mediterranean.

But though Prince Gortschakoff could not be wholly insensible to these influences, which pervaded so large a part of the Russian people, there is abundant evidence that he was not ready for war, and that he sought to avert it by every means in his power—dissuading Servia from taking up arms; checking the enterprise of the Sclavonic committee; repressing the aspirations of the political economists who were urging expansion southward; uniting heartily with the other powers in such measures as tended to prevent war, and making concessions, which seemed beyond what could reasonably be required from a power like Russia, in the interests of peace.

But when all these failed, and it became evident that Turkey was determined upon war, the old statesman showed that the snows of even seventy-nine Russian winters had not dimmed his vision, or abated his natural force; and with the aid of his trusty subordinates, he had already sent into the field, within thirty days after the declaration of war, 400,000 men, fully equipped for service, with over 100,000 horses, and 1,730 guns, aside

from the irregular troops; and has a reserve of much larger numbers, already mobilizing, to support them. Prince Gortschakoff ranks with Bismarck and Andrassy, as one of the most eminent statesmen of Europe.

GENERAL IGNATIEFF.

Paul Nicholas, Count Ignatieff, a General in the Russian Army, and one of the most skillful of modern diplomatists, was born in St. Petersburg, in 1831, the Czar Nicholas being his god-father. His family were among the highest of the old Russian nobility, and the young Count had all the advantages of both military and civil education which wealth and eminent social position could confer. He studied at the German universities, and was initiated into the mysteries of diplomacy by the veteran Gortschakoff. In accordance with the Russian customs in diplomacy, he was at first employed as a subordinate at one of the more important European courts, and gradually advanced to higher positions. In his case the preferment came unusually early. In 1864, when but thirty-three years of age, he was sent as Russian Minister to Constantinople, and three years later raised to the rank of Ambassador. His skill in diplomacy, which was, upon occasions, accompanied with a curt manner, won for him the approval of his superiors. That he was unscrupulous, must be admitted. He had managed to gain the confidence of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, and, the Turkish Ministers declare, had nearly completed a treaty with him, by which the Sultan was to relinquish some important provinces of Asiatic Turkey to Russia, when Midhat Pasha compelled the Sultan to abdicate, and his scheme was overthrown. At the Conference, in December, 1876, General Ignatieff repre-

sented Russian interests, and was said to be very haughty and imperious in his demands. He subsequently visited most of the European capitals, and his mysterious outgivings in regard to the Russian policy excited much attention. Like most of the Russian noblesse, General Ignatieff has a fine and commanding address, and a specious and somewhat insinuating manner.

MIDHAT PASHA,

a Turkish statesman of remarkable ability, who, though belonging to the "Old Turkish" or Softa party, has manifested a clearer perception of the reforms necessary to the existence of the Turks as an European nation, and greater determination in enforcing them than any other man of his race since Mahmoud II.

Midhat Pasha is, we believe, a native of Constantinople, and of good family. He was born about 1830, and after receiving as good an education as Constantinople could afford, visited western Europe and endeavored to improve his mind by society and travel. He was, on his return, soon called into the service of the Sultan, first, as vali or commander of the provinces of the Danube in Bulgaria, and about 1867, as Pasha or Governor of the *Vilayet* of Bulgaria. From this position he was transferred to the *Vilayet* or Province of Bagdad about 1870, and in 1872 recalled to Constantinople to become Grand Vizier. In 1874, he was dismissed, in one of the frequent changes of that year; but after a few months was reinstated, and remained in that position (the equivalent of the English premier) through nearly all the rest of the reign of Abdul Aziz, the short and gloomy sultanate of Murad V., and the beginning of Abdul Hamid's reign, resigning office in February, 1877, since which date he

has visited Paris and London. His friends among the Softas have demanded his return to power, and have even threatened the deposition of Abdul Hamid II. and the restoration of Murad V. unless their demands were granted. The excitement has only been quieted by the imprisonment and banishment of many of the Softas, but the probabilities of his return are yet very great.

In all the positions which he has held, Midhat Pasha has shown himself disposed to act justly and honorably, though with the full conviction, that the faith of Islam and the Ottoman power must be preserved at all hazards. He was generally esteemed as a ruler in Bulgaria, although he stamped out the attempts at rebellion there, in 1867 and 1868, with great promptness and decision, destroying all the insurgents who were found with arms in their hands, but committing no outrages. In 1870 and 1871, he vigorously opposed the issuing of a firman granting to the Bulgarian Catholic Church a separate and independent autonomy, because it contributed to the civil independence of the Bulgarians. In Bagdad, he had rather the natural apathy and indolence of the Turk to contend with than any religious schism; and he exerted a wholesome influence in stimulating them to greater activity. When he succeeded Mahmoud Nedhem Pasha as Grand Vizier in 1872, he sought to establish practicable reforms. One of the most important of these, at that time, was the reduction of the reckless expenditure in which the Sultan and the high officers of the Porte indulged. The revenue almost every year was less than the expenditure, and in time of peace the empire had largely increased its debt, yet the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, went on building each year a new and gorgeous palace, at enormous expense, which, when completed, he seldom or never entered. Corruption was rife

but Midhat Pasha procured the signature and seal of the Sultan to it, and when he undertook, as he did very soon to override it, addressed him a long letter, in which, with a plainness seldom exercised by an officer of State to his Sovereign, he informed him that the work of the constitution had not ended with its promulgation. Again was the Grand Vizier dismissed and Mahmoud Pasha called to take his place. But the Softas, the leaders of the old Turkish party, threatened the weak and half imbecile Sultan, and compelled the reinstatement of Midhat Pasha, Hussein Avni Pasha, and Raschid Pasha. The new ministers held a council and decided that Abdul Aziz must be deposed, and Midhat Pasha informed him of the decision and enforced it. Murad V., his nephew, was immediately proclaimed, and a week later, the deposed Sultan committed suicide. On the 15th of June, 1876, a Turkish officer of Circassian birth, Hassan by name, found his way into the council of ministers who were assembled at the country house of Midhat Pasha, and killed Hussein Avni Pasha, the Minister of War, and Raschid Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and wounded two or three others, Midhat Pasha among the number. The assassin was seized at once—the Grand Vizier showing great presence of mind in causing his arrest—and was speedily tried and executed. The new Sultan, Murad V., proving insane and as imbecile as his uncle, was deposed August 31, and his brother, Abdul Hamid II. crowned in his stead. During all these changes, which, indeed, were mainly made by his direction, Midhat Pasha remained Grand Vizier, and at the conference of the Powers at Constantinople in December, 1875, he took very strong ground, replying to the charges of his criminal knowledge of, and complicity in the Bulgarian outrages, by referring France to the St. Bartholomew mas-

sacre, England to her treatment of Nana Sahib's followers, Austria to the Hungarian insurrection, and Russia to her treatment of Poland. He then brought forward his constitution, which he claimed was to be enforced as soon as possible throughout the Empire. The conference was without beneficial results, and in February, the Sultan dismissed him from office and made Edhem Pasha his successor.

How far Midhat Pasha was responsible for the Bulgarian outrages is a matter not easily settled. That he permitted the employment of Bashi-Bazouks, in some instances, seemed to be proved, and that some of the worst and most brutal of the leaders of these bands of ruffians, were promoted and rewarded by the orders of Hussein Avni Pasha, then Minister of War, is equally certain; it is hardly probable that this could have been done, without the Grand Vizier's knowledge; yet, during the exciting scenes of that period, and his temporary absence from power, during the month of May, 1876, there is a possibility of his innocence, and his previous good record should be allowed to be used in his favor.

He is unquestionably a man of great executive ability and daring, and if European Turkey has a future, it is not improbable that he may be a prominent actor in that future.

EDHEM PASHA,

the present Grand Vizier of Turkey, though by religion and education a Mohammedan, is said to be a Greek, a native of the isle of Scio, where he was born in 1823. In boyhood he was purchased by the well-known Turkish statesman Khosru Pasha; but the manner in which he performed the servile duties allotted to him, attracted the attention and favor of his master, and, in 1832, he

EDHEM PASHA, GRAND VIZIER OF TURKEY.

was sent, with three other youths, to Paris to be educated. There he entered the *Ecole des Mines*, and quickly distinguished himself by his patience and aptitude for study. He remained at this school until 1835, making several tours through France, Germany, and Switzerland, in the prosecution of his scientific and mining studies. He returned to Constantinople in 1839, and was soon appointed a captain in the General Staff, being assigned to topographical work, in which he showed so much skill, that he was rapidly promoted to the rank of colonel. He was also tutor in French to the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. Rising rapidly in royal favor he became, in 1849, aide-de-camp to Abdul Medjid, the reigning Sultan, and captain-general of the Imperial Guard. He also filled the duties of Chamberlain of the Imperial palace, and became a member of the Council of State. After Ali Pasha's dismissal he succeeded him as Minister of Foreign Affairs; and subsequently represented his country at several European courts. While ambassador at Berlin, in 1876, he was called to take the position of Second Plenipotentiary of the Porte, at the Constantinople Conference of European Powers. On the downfall of Midhat Pasha, February, 1877, he was appointed Grand Vizier. He belongs to the "Young Turkish" party, of which Vefik Effendi, the new President of the Chamber of Deputies, is an eminent leader. At the conference, Edhem Pasha was more outspoken than politic. When some of the other ambassadors referred to the atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, he retorted with a stinging reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and to the scenes of the French Revolution of 1793; and while he did not oppose the new constitution as a form of government, he did strongly object to placing the Christians, even in theory, on a

par with Mahometans. He expressed his view that the constitution was a weak concession to the clamor of Europe, and contrary to the sacred honor and principles of Turkish nationality; and, in fact, his whole attitude in the conference was that of outspoken, uncompromising loyalty to Turkey—even to the extent of war.

His course as Grand Vizier has been marked by similar characteristics; but he has not fully satisfied the Softas, a turbulent but influential class of Mahometan fanatics, who caused the overthrow of Abdul Aziz and of Murad V., and in the latter part of May, 1877, were clamoring for a change of the cabinet. Still he is, from a Turkish point of view, one of the ablest statesmen who has had charge of the government for some years past.

SAFVET PASHA,

a Turkish diplomatist and statesman, born in Constantinople about 1817, was trained for diplomacy under Aali and Fuad Pasha, whose views he has always maintained. He was during the latter part of the reign of Abdûl Medjid, and the early portion of that of his successor, Abdul Aziz, the Turkish Ambassador to France, and was very popular in Paris from his engaging manners, his extensive culture, and his enlightened views. Being subsequently recalled to Constantinople, he served in the Ottoman Porte, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Justice and Minister of Public Instruction, and is now Minister of War, succeeding Hussein Avni Pasha in that capacity. He is more thoroughly a reformer than Midhat Pasha, and has no sympathy for, or affiliation with the Softas, who have been for some time clamoring for his removal. He is reputed a member of

the peace party, who are anxious to save the empire from entire destruction, by yielding a part of Russia's demands, before the time shall come when a part will not satisfy her. He has the reputation among his colleagues, and the diplomatists who have served with him, of being upright, high-minded, conciliatory and shrewd. His present position is a critical and undesirable one, as the mob have hitherto ruled Constantinople; but he has shown great courage and nerve, in causing the arrest and banishment of many of the Softa leaders.

ANDRASSY (COUNT) JULIUS,

Prime Minister of the Austro-Hungarian empire, was born March 8, 1823, at Zemplen, Hungary. He belongs to a family known for eleven centuries in Bosnia, and for sixteen in Hungary, where they held vast estates and the rank of counts. His father, Count Charles, who died in 1845, was an opposition member of the Hungarian Diets of 1839–40 and 1843–44; wrote, in German, "Outlines of a Possible Reform in Hungary;" and was distinguished for his efforts to promote the scientific and industrial progress of his native country. Count Julius succeeded his father as president of the society for regulating the course of the river Theiss; and was returned by his native town, in 1847, to the Presburg Diet of 1847–8, in which his oratory and political ability rendered him conspicuous. He lent his whole influence in favor of the Hungarian revolution, and as lord-lieutenant of the county of Zemplen, led its militia into the field. After the Hungarian government had fled to Debreczin, he was sent on a mission to Constantinople; and on the triumph of the Austrian arms, he went into exile (1849-57) in France and England, a price being set upon his head by the Austrian

government. Returning, in the latter year, under the general amnesty, he was again chosen a member of the Diet of 1860–1; and, supported by the Deak party, was Vice-President of the Diet of 1865–6, and chairman of its committee on relations of the Austrian empire. On the accession of the Beust Ministry, October, 1866, followed by the recognition of Hungarian sovereignty in the new Austro-Hungarian empire, he was, at Deak's demand, February, 1867, made the Premier of Hungary, and the defences of that portion of the empire assigned to his care. His administration—which was signalized by the civil and political emancipation of the Jews; by raising the means for perfecting the railway system of Hungary; by his selection of several members of the government from the ranks of the people; by his prosecution of the measures broached by the committee of 1865–6, in support of Hungary's sovereign rights; and various financial, military and judicial reforms—rendered him highly popular at home, and respected abroad. At the general election of 1869, he was unanimously returned by the electors of Pesth, to the Hungarian Chamber of Representatives.

During the Franco-German war, though sympathizing with France, he insisted on strict neutrality; he favored the overthrow of papal temporal power; and was antagonistic to Russia on the Eastern question, until in November, 1871, he resigned his position as Premier of Hungary, having been called to succeed Count Beust as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian empire, since which time he has seemed to ignore all external complications, and to seek only for the preservation of peace. Among his efforts, to this end, not the least important have been those which have had reference to the Eastern question. His views have been marked by a profound

appreciation of the questions at issue, and a generous and statesmanlike breadth of view which had previously been entirely unknown in Austrian politics. In December, 1875, anxious for the sake of Austria-Hungary, as well as for the sake of the peace of Europe, to put an end to the difficulties between Turkey and its provinces, which were even then threatening to involve adjacent States, he drew up a note, which has passed into history as "Count Andrassy's Note," for which he sought and received the concurrence of the other great powers, proposing to the Ottoman Porte:

"1. The proclamation of religious liberty, full and entire. 2. Abolition of the farming of taxes. 3. A law to guarantee that the direct taxation of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be employed for the immediate interests of those provinces. 4. A special commission, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, to superintend the execution of the reforms proclaimed and proposed. 5. The amelioration of the condition of the rural population." These propositions, though sustained by the six great powers, were ignored by Turkey, and perhaps could not, under the circumstances, have been enforced by her. Not discouraged by this, in his efforts to accomplish so desirable a result, Count Andrassy, on the 14th of May, 1876, united with the representatives of Russia and Germany in the preparation of what is technically known as the "Berlin Memorandum," which provided for a guaranty by the great powers of the several reforms which the Porte, with its usual proclivity for promises, had proclaimed, but had not reduced to practice. The pressure to be put upon the Porte, was to be only such as would secure the performance of its pledges. The Conservative Cabinet of Great Britain objected to this memorandum, and refused

to sign it, alleging that it must obviously and inevitably lead to the military occupation of Turkey. The Bulgarian atrocities, which had already been perpetrated, but were not known when this Berlin Memorandum was signed, afforded added reasons for the action which the three powers had taken, and led to the declaration of war against Turkey, by the Prince of Servia and the Hospodar of Montenegro, on the 2d of July, 1876. Still intent on preserving the peace of Europe, Count Andrassy exerted all his powers to procure an armistice, and subsequently to promote the assembling of a conference of the powers at Constantinople, which met on the 11th of December, and in which the six powers participated. Their conclusions were not accepted by the Porte, which at this time was under new rulers, but a constitution was promulgated by the Sultan which was utterly impracticable, and, as a last resort, Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Premier, drew up a protocol, which after some modifications was signed by the six powers, inviting the Porte to place its army on a peace footing, and as peace had now been made between Servia and Turkey, the Powers pledged themselves to watch carefully the manner in which the promises of the Porte were carried into effect, and declared that in the event that their hopes were disappointed, and the peace of Europe was disturbed, they should reserve to themselves the consideration of the means which might be necessary to secure the well-being of the Christian population, and the interests of the general peace. This protocol was signed March 31, 1877, and its conciliatory tone was largely due to the joint efforts of Count Andrassy and the English representatives. The Porte rejected it summarily, and war was declared between Russia and Turkey, April 24, 1877, in which Roumania and Servia have maintained

PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK, CHANCELLOR OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

a neutrality favoring Russia, while Montenegro has renewed the war with Turkey. Count Andrassy's efforts to prevent Austria-Hungary from being involved in the war, and to maintain a complete neutrality, have been very great, and thus far (July, 1877) have proved successful.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN.

Charles Otho Edward Leopold, Prince Von Bismarck-Schönhausen, Chancellor of the German Empire, is of a noble family of Saxony, which traces its ancestry back to a Sclavonic origin. He was born in the ancestral castle of Schönhausen, in the district of Jerichow, Saxony, April 1, 1814 or 1815. The authorities are about equally divided, as to the year of his birth. His family had long borne high office in the service of the Saxon and Prussian kings, and he was from childhood destined to the same service. He received his university and professional training, for the legal profession, at Göttingen, Berlin, and Greifswald, and after obtaining his degree of Ph. D., determined to spend some time in military pursuits. (His reorganization of the army, now makes it compulsory on every educated man, to do what he did voluntarily). He served first in the light infantry, and finally attained a lieutenancy in the Landwehr, or first Reserves. He was in no haste to enter public life, and did not seek an election to the Diet of Saxony, till 1846, or to the General Diet, till 1847. In the latter, he soon became the leader of the Junker, or conservative party, and while he was known as "the Mad Bismarck," from the intensity of his conservatism, and his bold declarations in favor of the Royal prestige and prerogative, he had already gained a reputation, by his elo-

quence, his brilliant paradoxes, and his love of controversy. It was in the first or second annual session of the General Diet which he attended, that he advocated, with great vehemence, the leveling of every large city to the earth, because they were, everywhere, the centers of democracy and constitutionalism. He has learned the advantages of constitutions since those days, but he is very far from being a democrat even now. In the revolution of 1848, he was an ardent royalist, and neither had, nor pretended to have, any sympathy with the revolutionists. He opposed, most passionately, the constitution and the German Parliament at Frankfort. His extreme loyalty to the king, Frederick William IV., led to his promotion to the position of first secretary of the Prussian legation at Frankfort, in May, 1857, and to his appointment three months later, to be Prussian Ambassador to the German Confederacy. He retained this position until the spring of 1859, being at all times, the vigilant adversary of Austria and its policy. He had mastered the whole subject of the Austrian hostility to Prussia, and the craft with which her minister, Count von Rechberg was managing the affairs of Austria, and understood her policy so well, that the Prussian Cabinet felt that no other man could be trusted in that important position. In 1858, he published anonymously, a pamphlet of great ability, entitled, "Prussia and the Italian Question." In 1859, he was appointed Minister to St. Petersburg, and while occupying that position, visited Paris in 1860; in 1861, he explained to the king his views of the necessity of a reorganization of the army, and in April, 1862, was recalled from St. Petersburg by the king, who was in conflict with the Diet, concerning this reorganization, and who offered him the Presidency of the Cabinet; but with his far-

reaching views, he preferred to ascertain first the plans of the court of France, before taking a place in the Cabinet, and he accordingly accepted the post of Minister to France for that purpose. In September, 1862, on the withdrawal of Von der Heydt and Von Roon from the Cabinet, because the Diet had refused to approve of the plan of reorganization proposed by the king and ministry, Bismarck was called from Paris, and became at once Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Cabinet. Neither the king nor his premier were lacking in a determined will, and believing this reorganization of the army absolutely necessary to their plans, for the future prosperity of Prussia, they fought a long and strenuous battle with the Diet over it. The struggle was severe, as neither party was willing to yield, and the king and Bismarck could not then expose the purpose they had in view—which was to prevent Austria from ruling over the Germanic Diet and to expel her from it, as the only means of preventing the destruction of Prussia, which had long been the intention of Austria. The Diet was dissolved, and the freedom of the press restricted; but the new Diet was yet more unmanageable, and the press law was, of necessity, repealed. The position of Austria at this time, opened the eyes of some of the deputies, and after a time, Bismarck received a better support. The conflict in regard to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were a further step toward what Bismarck saw was inevitable—war with Austria. This had been threatened for nearly two years; but the Liberals in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, were, as they afterward acknowledged, strangely blind to their own interests, and opposed the war with great violence, some of them going so far as to lament, that the attempt of Ferdinand Cohn, to assassinate Bismarck in May of that year (1866), had

not been successful. But the resolute Premier had gained his king fully to his own views, and he went forward promptly without regarding their opposition. The war lasted but seven weeks, and then Austria was on her knees begging for mercy, with her enemy at the gates of Vienna. Bismarck did not care to capture Vienna. The cholera had broken out among the German troops; Napoleon III. was occupying a threatening attitude, which he was not quite ready to punish; and he had gained his great points, the breaking up of the old Germanic Diet, the formation of a North Germanic Confederation, from which Austria was excluded, and the leadership of Prussia in all Germanic matters. The South German States desired to enter his North German Confederation, but he would not permit it then, as he said they had other lessons to learn. The Catholic party in Bavaria, were bitterly hostile to him; but he paid no attention to their threats, and indeed he had no occasion to do so, for his admirable management had won all hearts to him in North Germany. He was created Count von Bismarck-Schönhausen, by the King, and a splendid dotation voted him by the Chambers, those who, six months before, had wished that the assassin had killed him, being the heartiest in their vote for his reward.

Then came the Luxemburg matter, when Napoleon III. undertook to seize the little duchy, which Holland had been over-persuaded to make over to him. Knowing Napoleon's hatred of Prussia, Bismarck sent this message to him, "If France does not withdraw her pretensions to Luxemburg, Prussia will send an army of 900,000 men into the field, to compel her to do so." Napoleon knew his man, and decided not to take the risk. Bismarck was, however, diligently, though secretly, preparing himself for the war with France, which he knew must come. Every

portion of Eastern France was carefully and thoroughly mapped; every bridge, road, forest, and house, was laid down—the depth and fordability of rivers at all points noted, the camping-grounds defined, and every particular which could be of service, was inscribed on the note-books. The army, under its new organization, was in splendid condition—the officers thoroughly drilled in military science, and highly intelligent, and the rank and file composed of men appropriately characterized as "the bayonets that think." It is not surprising, then, that when Napoleon, who had long been seeking an opportunity for war with a power which he bitterly hated, insisted on making the offer of the Spanish crown to a Hohenzollern, his pretext, and though that offer was declined, declared war, he found, when it was too late, that the foe whom he had provoked, was easily his master; nor that a little more than seven weeks from the declaration of war, found him a prisoner, and his armies annihilated. The subsequent conduct of the war, though highly creditable to the able French generals who took a part in it, could not atone for the errors of the beginning, and France found herself in March, 1871, compelled to make peace, with her armies defeated, her capital in the possession of the enemy, her sons slaughtered by hundreds of thousands, her territory alienated, and the payment of an indemnity of one thousand millions of dollars conceded.

On the 18th of January, 1871, Count Von Bismarck had the satisfaction of seeing his king, William I. of Prussia, crowned in the ancient palace of Versailles, France, as Emperor of Germany. In the same month, he was appointed Chancellor of the German Empire, and in March following, raised to the rank of Prince. In September, 1871, he was present at the memorable meeting of the German and Austrian Emperors at Gastein.

Prince Bismarck is not wont to forget either injuries or benefits. The Catholics of Bavaria, and the Catholics and Jesuits of other portions of the empire, and especially of South Germany, had manifested their hatred of him, personally, and their hostility to his measures, in a variety of ways. It was not, probably, from these causes so much, as from the conviction that the presence of the priests in large numbers in any country, boded no good to its institutions, and that all the clergy, of all denominations, must in civil matters be obedient to the State, that he procured the passage of an act expelling the Jesuits from Germany (July 4, 1872), and placing the Catholic higher clergy on the same basis of subordination with those of other churches. He has been assailed with great bitterness for these acts, but deems it a sufficient reply, that they were necessary. He resigned the Presidency of the State Ministry, in December, 1872, but has since exercised its functions, at the command of the Emperor. In 1876, he resigned his office of Chancellor on account of his health, but the Emperor would not accept his resignation, and after an absence of some months, he returned to his duties. During the pendency of the present war, Prince Bismarck's course has been marked by great moderation. He joined in all measures which were taken to prevent the war, and though from race, personal preference, and political conviction, the friend of Russia, he has never manifested any partiality toward her in the present conflict. The French, and especially, the Ultramontane party in France, firmly believe that Prince Bismarck is an incarnation of the Spirit of Evil, and that his sole study, night and day is, how he may best provoke another war with France. As a matter of fact, he has held back the German nation from war, during a year past; he is too clear-

sighted not to know that it must come, sooner or later; but he has no desire to hasten it, or provoke it, and would prevent it entirely, were it in his power.

In person, Prince Bismarck is a portly, but pleasant-featured man, with a fine intellectual head, a keen, brilliant eye, great self-command, with a quick, nervous manner, partly, perhaps, the result of ill-health. He is a man of superior culture and accomplishments, thoroughly familiar with most of the languages of Europe, speaking them fluently and most of them idiomatically. He is a master of every phase of political and social science, and possesses a power of prevision in regard to political and national affairs, which astonishes all who are brought into intimate intercourse with him. He possesses great ability as a diplomatist, and avows, laughingly, that he has won all his reputation in that direction, by telling the truth, which so astonished all the other diplomatists, that they regarded all his statements like their own, as falsehoods, and acted on that belief.

His health has been much impaired by his excessive labors. but he has remarkable powers of endurance.

BENJAMIN, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, First Earl of Beaconsfield, First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister of Great Britain, has been, for forty years, one of the most prominent men in Great Britain. He is the son of Isaac Disraeli, Esq., D.C.L., an author of considerable merit, and was born in London, December 21, 1805. The family are Hebrews by race, though the Premier is a member of the Church of England. Mr. Benjamin Disraeli followed his father's profession of literature, from a very early age. He was not yet twenty years of age when he published

his first novel, "Vivian Grey," which achieved a very favorable reputation. This was followed subsequently by "The Young Duke," "Henrietta Temple," "Contarini Fleming," "Alroy," and other brilliant works of fiction. He traveled extensively in the East, and on his return to England, in 1831, sought to enter Parliament, contesting the borough of Wycombe, but was defeated by a small majority. He made some subsequent attempts, but without success, till 1837, when he was elected for Maidstone, in Kent, and in 1841 exchanged that constituency for Shrewsbury. It is related, that soon after his admission to the House of Commons, he rose on some occasion to make a speech. He was very foppishly dressed, and though his face was attractive, was tall and slender. He expressed his ideas with modesty and clearness, but his fanciful appearance, and perhaps a little affectation in his manner, prejudiced the House. They were in a mocking mood, and at every sentence there was so many jeers, cries, cat-calls, etc., that he was compelled to desist; but, before he sat down he said, "I have attempted many things, and have succeeded in most of them, and I shall yet succeed in making this House listen to me." His prediction was fulfilled. In after years he was known as the finest orator of the House of Commons, and though from his tendency to mock and deride his opponents, his words had less weight than those of some others, he was always heard with attention. He was married in 1839 to Mrs. Mary Anne Evans Lewis, a lady of great worth, who, though considerably his senior, was of great service to him in his political career. She was raised to the peerage in November, 1868, as Viscountess Beaconsfield. She died in December, 1872. In 1847 Mr. Disraeli was returned to Parliament for the County of Buckingham, in which his estate of Hughenden Manor was

situated, and he continued to sit for that county until his elevation to the peerage, in 1876. On his first return to Parliament, Mr. Disraeli was one of Sir Robert Peel's adherents, and he continued to follow his leader, until Sir Robert became a free-trader, when he abandoned him, allying himself very closely with the Conservative party, and acquired so much influence with that party, that after the death of Lord George Bentinck, in 1848, he became their acknowledged leader in the House of Commons. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Earl Derby's first cabinet, in 1852, for about nine months. He occupied the same position in Earl Derby's second cabinet in 1858–9; and in 1866, in the third Derby administration, he held the same portfolio, and was in addition the ministerial leader of the House, and much of the time, acting premier, in consequence of the Earl's impaired health. In February, 1868, Earl Derby resigned, and Mr. Disraeli succeeded him as premier, but held office only till the succeeding autumn. In 1874, he was again returned to power, and is still premier, having been elevated to the peerage, as Earl of Beaconsfield, in August, 1876. During this long political career, Mr. Disraeli has written several political novels, the most noted being "Coningsby," "Sybil," and "Tancred." He has also published a "Vindication of the English Constitution," a "Biography of Lord G. Bentinck," and "Lothair," a semi-religious novel, and has republished some of his earlier works.

During his present term of service as premier, the Earl has manifested many of his old characteristics; daring, audacious, and somewhat sensational, he has always, when in power, kept the people agape with wonder, as to what he would do next; now declaring war with some savage nation in Asia or Africa; investing largely in the Suez Canal; justifying, or at least apologizing, for the

outrages upon the Bulgarians, and bringing the nation to the very verge of war with Russia. This last feat he may yet accomplish. Well might Mr. Carlyle speak of him as "our extraordinary Premier." The Earl of Beaconsfield is a man of undoubted talent, and of extensive, rather than profound learning; but his whole course has savored so much of insincerity, that even the party with which he has so long acted, do not trust him implicitly; and will not mourn deeply when his rule is ended, as from his failing health, it probably soon will be. He has not retained the beauty which made him attractive in youth, but his decidedly plain face wears a grim, unhappy expression, as if life had gone ill with him; yet few men, starting from obscurity, have had, through a long life, a larger share of honor and success, than Benjamin Disraeli, now Earl of Beaconsfield.

EDWARD HENRY SMITH STANLEY,

Fifteenth Earl of Derby, is the eldest son of the late Earl of Derby, the veteran statesman and Premier of England, and scholarly translator of Homer. The present earl was born at Knowsley Park, July 21, 1826; was educated at Rugby School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a first class in classics. In 1848, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Parliament, for Lancashire; but, in 1849, while absent on a tour through the United States, Canada, and the West Indies, was returned to Parliament for Lynn Regis (as Lord G. Bentinck's successor), which he continued to represent, as Lord Stanley, until his succession to the peerage. The results of his tour in the West Indies were displayed in a very able speech made by him, in the House of Commons, in 1850, on the subject of the sugar colonies. In 1852, he visited India, and while there, was appointed Under Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, in his father's first administration. During the following year, 1853, he submitted to the House of Commons a plan for the reformation of the administration of India, superior to that contemplated by the Coalition Cabinet, and had the pleasure of seeing its essential features adopted in 1858. In 1855, Lord Palmerston offered him the position of Colonial Minister in the Cabinet, rendered vacant by the death of Sir W. Molesworth; but his devotion to his party led him to decline the flattering proposal. In 1858–9, however, under his father's second administration, he became Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a seat in the Cabinet; and afterwards President of the Board of Control, with the title of Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Affairs of India. Under his superintendence took place the great transfer of the management of East Indian affairs, from the hands of the British East India Company, who had hitherto exercised it, to those of the officers of the crown; and he became the first Secretary of State for India.

In the Cabinet of his father's third administration, he was accorded the position of Foreign Secretary, July, 1866, and became exceedingly popular, from the tact displayed in the negotiations for the settlement of the Luxemburg difficulties. He held the seals of the Foreign Office until Mr. Gladstone's accession to the premiership in December, 1868. On the 1st of April, 1869, he was installed Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow; and soon after, by the death of his father, October 23, 1869, became a Peer of the Realm. Cautious and deliberate in thought, reserved in manner, and slow in speech, phlegmatic in temperament, studious and industrious in habits, he has, during his long political life, proved himself an admirable organizer; and, at the same time, pecu-

liarly free from the bias of party politics. As a Tory leader, he is regarded as most liberal, enlightened, and progressive; and is naturally considered as the Earl of Beaconsfield's successor, under whom, in February, 1874, he re-assumed the Foreign Office, in which his administration has been acceptable, though complaints have been repeatedly made of his indisposition to prompt and decided action in great emergencies, and of his willingness to yield to the eccentric, and not always judicious, measures of the Premier, even when they did not represent his own views. In the month succeeding the Bulgarian massacres, his apathy and apologetic tone relative to that fearful crime against humanity, evoked from the whole nation the strongest censure, and had Parliament been in session when the facts became fully known, and the Liberals united and resolute, the Cabinet of which he was so prominent a member would probably have been overthrown, though the Earl himself is, and always has been, personally popular. Still more recently, when Lord Beaconsfield made a speech which seemed a sharp defiance of Russia, and Earl Derby, though personally averse to war with that power, replied to Prince Gortschakoff's note in very curt terms, there was a general fear that Great Britain would be dragged into war with Russia, in support of Turkey, and this result would have occurred, but for the earnest protests of the Liberals in and out of Parliament, and the judicious management of Earl Derby, who felt that the Premier was going too far, and too fast.

While adhering to the traditions of the Tory or Conservative party, to which his family have belonged for so many generations, Earl Derby has never been a rigid partisan, and enjoys the esteem of both parties to an unusual extent.

THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

The Right Honorable Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoigne Cecil, third Marquis and Earl of Salisbury, is one of the ablest of the members of the present Cabinet of Great Britain. He is the eldest surviving son of the late Marquis, was born at Hatfield, England, in 1830, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and after graduation, was elected a Fellow of All Souls College. He was a member of the House of Commons, sitting for Stamford from August, 1853 to 1868, when he succeeded to the Earldom, on the death of his father, and was transferred to the House of Lords. He has always ranked with the Conservatives. He was known in the Lower House, as Lord Robert Cecil, till the death of his elder brother, when he took the courtesy title of Viscount Cranborne. He was Secretary of State for India, in Earl Derby's third administration, from July, 1866, to March, 1867, when he resigned on account of a difference of opinion respecting the Reform Bill. When Mr. Disraeli returned to power, in February, 1874, the Earl of Salisbury resumed his position of Secretary of State for India, which he still retains. In the late troubles which have grown out of the relations of Turkey, Servia, and Russia, the Earl of Salisbury has been a prominent actor. He was a member of the Conference at Constantinople, in December, 1876, and his course there was eminently pacific and judicious. The Earl is accustomed to do his own thinking, and it is generally believed that he does not fully sympathize with the anti-Russian policy of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and that his vigorous remonstrances, coming at the same time with the demonstration of Mr. Gladstone and his friends, were the means of preventing a declaration of war

against Russia, early in June, 1877. He is a very ready and effective debater, and an accomplished diplomatist.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, D. C. L.

The Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, late Premier of England, and First Lord of the Treasury, is one of the ablest statesmen of our times. He was born in Liverpool, December 29, 1809, and is the fourth son of the late Sir John Gladstone, Baronet, a Scottish merchant of Liverpool. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford, having been nominated a student of the latter in 1829, and graduated in 1831, taking, like Macaulay, a double first-class, at his examination in the Michaelmas term. He went immediately to the Continent, made an extended tour, and in December, 1832, was elected to Parliament in the Conservative interest, for Newark. Sir Robert Peel, who was then Premier, had a quick eye for young men of sterling ability and good promise; and Mr. Gladstone's mercantile origin, his extraordinary scholarship, his habits of business, and his high character, recommended him so strongly to the veteran statesman, that in December, 1834, when he was but twenty-five years of age, he appointed him to a junior Lordship of the Treasury, and three months later, made him Under Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs. In 1835 Sir Robert Peel resigned office, and Mr. Gladstone retired with his leader, and though a member of Parliament, did not hold office again until September, 1841, when Sir Robert, being again Premier, selected him as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint; he was at the same time sworn a member of the Privy Council. In his

new position, it was his duty to explain and defend, in the House of Commons, the commercial policy of the Government, and his early mercantile training and connections were of great service to him in this work. The revision of the English tariff in 1842, was almost entirely the product of his energy, industry, and intelligence. When this laborious work was brought before the House of Commons, it was found to be as admirably executed in its details, as it was complete in its mastery of general principles, and it received the sanction of both houses, with scarcely an alteration. The ability manifested in this work, made him the fit successor of the Earl of Ripon, as President of the Board of Trade, on the resignation of the Earl in 1843, but at the end of two years he resigned. In January, 1846, Sir Robert Peel announced his intention of proposing a modification of the Commercial laws—which was, virtually, an abandonment on his part of the Conservative party. Mr. Gladstone was at this time Secretary of State for the Colonies (succeeding the late Earl of Derby in that position); his views had undergone the same change with Sir Robert Peel's, but he was sitting in Parliament as the member from Newark, and that borough was under the control of the Duke of Newcastle, his life-long friend, but a very strong Conservative. With that conscientiousness which has ever marked his career, Mr. Gladstone resigned his seat for Newark, and of course his cabinet position, and remained out of Parliament for a year and a half rather than seem to misrepresent his friend's borough. In August, 1847, he was elected for the University of Oxford, as a moderate Conservative. In the Parliament of 1847–1852, he was called to act on the questions of University Reform, and on the question of the removal of the Jewish Disabilities, on

both of which he occupied rather the Liberal than the Conservative position, and on most other topics he found himself more in accord with the Whigs and Liberals than with their opponents. Avowing his convictions frankly, he resigned his seat in February, 1851, and appealed to his constituents in the following July. Their reverence for his honesty and manliness, and their desire to see the University represented by a man of such profound learning and ability, led them to re-elect him, though not without a severe contest. In the "coalition" ministry, formed by the Earl of Aberdeen, in December, 1852, Mr. Gladstone was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office for which his long experience in the Board of Trade eminently fitted him. His services in that position were of great value. In 1855, the Aberdeen ministry was partially broken up, and then reconstructed under Lord Palmerston. Mr. Gladstone held office for a few weeks under the new Premier, but then resigned, and for the next four years, though supporting Lord Palmerston's ministry in general, held no office. During the brief duration of Earl Derby's second cabinet in 1858–9, Mr. Gladstone accepted a special mission to the Ionian Islands, to arrange certain difficulties which had arisen in the administration of the government, then under the protection of Great Britain. In June, 1859, when Lord Palmerston had resumed office, Mr. Gladstone was again Chancellor of the Exchequer. During his term of office, he was mainly instrumental in repealing the paper duty, and aided Mr. Cobden materially in the promotion of those negotiations, which culminated in the commercial treaty of 1860 between England and France. He promoted also University reform, in accordance with the views of the ablest and most judicious of the University Commissioners; his wide acquaintance with University

men, and his thorough mastery of the whole subject, making him of great service.

But this busy political and public life was not suffered to interfere with his studies or his literary pursuits. Some hours of every day were devoted to close and intent study, and the results appeared from time to time. For some years he published only works on Political and Politico-Economic subjects, such as "The State in its Relations with the Church," 2 vols., 1838; "Church Principles Considered in their Results," 1841; "Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation," 1845, etc.

In 1851, after a visit to Naples, then under the rule of King Ferdinand ("Bomba"), he found that the Bourbon king was persecuting and imprisoning above 20,000 of his subjects, simply because they were opposed to some of his arbitrary measures. Having ascertained the facts, Mr. Gladstone addressed an indignant letter to the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the subject of the State Prosecutions at Naples, which was translated into several foreign languages, and sent by Lord Palmerston to the several British ambassadors, with orders to forward copies of it to the several courts. This put an end to these persecutions. In 1858, he published an elaborate work on Homer, "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age," 3 vols., which he has lately supplemented by a translation of Homer's Iliad, and in 1869, by a work entitled, "Juventus Mundi: the Gods and Men of the Heroic Age." In later years, he has proved his right to be considered the ablest pamphleteer of his age, by numerous occasional works, which have produced a profound effect.

In July, 1861, he was solicited to become a candidate in the Liberal interest, for South Lancashire, but refused to forsake his former constituents. At the general elec-

tion in July, 1865, the old Conservative influences prevailed at Oxford, and Mr. Gladstone was returned to Parliament, by South Lancashire. After the death of Lord Palmerston, he became leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, retaining the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in Earl Russell's second administration.

Early in the Session of 1866, he brought in a Reform Bill, and a motion in committee having been carried, June 18, against the Government, by eleven votes, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues resigned. Mr. Disraeli, with his usual audacity, immediately on coming into power, prepared a Reform Bill, very specious in its professions, though really much less advantageous to the working classes than Mr. Gladstone's, which he succeeded in forcing through against Mr. Gladstone's opposition.

In the early part of the Session of 1868, Mr. Gladstone brought forward, and passed through the House of Commons, a series of resolutions, having for their object the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. These resolutions were the basis of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill, which on the 22d of May, 1868, was read a second time in the House of Commons, by 312 votes to 258, but in the House of Lords was afterward rejected by a majority of 95. At the general election of 1868, Mr. Gladstone was defeated, after a fierce contest, in South Lancashire, but was elected by a large majority from Greenwich, which he still represents.

On the resignation of Mr. Disraeli's ministry in December, 1868, Mr. Gladstone became First Lord of the Treasury and Premier. He held office for nearly five and a half years, and in that time he caused the passage of a greater number of important acts, than any of his predecessors had done. His first important measure was the Irish Disestablishment Act, in which he inci-

dentally effected a triumph which had never been attempted but once before. The bill was popular in the House of Commons, and passed by a large majority there, but the House of Lords resolved to kill it, as they had done in Mr. Disraeli's administration; they soon found, however, that the great commoner, now at the head of the government, was not disposed to accept defeat from their hands. They were informed very coolly, through the cabinet minister in the House of Lords, that they could take their choice; either they might retrace their steps, and vote for the measure in sufficient numbers to pass it, or a sufficient number of new peers would be created to make its passage certain. They chose the former alternative, and in so doing, effectually surrendered their power. The step was perhaps a wise one, for already, Radical members of the House of Commons were proposing the disestablishment of the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone also carried, through both houses, the Irish Land Act; the Ballot Act (for the use of the secret ballot at elections), and the Judicature Act, reorganizing several important courts. He gained another triumph over the House of Lords, who, sore at their former defeat, refused to pass the Army Regulation Bill, which prohibited the sale of army commissions to individuals, by army officers (a course which was ruining the army); Mr. Gladstone, without deigning to remonstrate with the Lords on their refusal, immediately proceeded to abolish the purchase of commission sin the army, by the exercise of the royal prerogative, a step which, though perfectly constitutional, had not been attempted before for nearly two hundred years. It is needless to say, that he had no further trouble with the House of Lords.

He also negotiated the treaty of Washington, respect-

ing the Alabama claims. In 1873, the most important measure proposed by the government, was the Irish University Education Bill, which was opposed, both by the Conservatives and the Roman Catholic members, and was lost in the House of Commons by 287 votes against 284. Mr. Gladstone tendered his resignation, but his opponent, Mr. Disraeli, declined to take office, and Mr. Gladstone, with great reluctance, undertook to reconstruct the cabinet. In the new cabinet, he filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury, as well as the Premiership.

The next winter, two weeks before the commencement of the session, Mr. Gladstone announced the dissolution of Parliament and a new election. In this election, the Conservatives had a clear majority of 49, and Mr. Gladstone immediately resigned, and Mr. Disraeli became a second time Prime Minister.

In 1874, he was rarely in his place in the House of Commons, but toward the close of the session, opposed very strongly, the Public Worship Regulation Bill, which nevertheless became an act. In January, 1875, Mr. Gladstone announced his determination to retire from the leadership of the Liberal party. "At the age of sixty-five," he said in his letter to Earl Granville, "and after forty-two years of laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views, as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life." The Marquis of Hartington was soon after chosen by the Liberal party as their leader in the House of Commons, but is far from possessing Mr. Gladstone's ability or tact. It seems to be evident, indeed, that the power and influence of leadership, and very possibly the position of Premier, must ere long be forced again upon

Mr. Gladstone. The Liberals have no man who is his equal inability and integrity and in the prospect that the scepter will soon pass from the hands of the Earl of Beaconsfield, no other man can rally around him so strong a following as Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone's retirement from office has not made him indolent. His mental activity was perhaps never greater than now. Even while he was occupied with his official duties, he found time to write the very thoughtful and able little work, "Ecce Homo," and to publish, as already noticed, his "Juventus Mundi." He also wrote a vigorous pamphlet on the Irish Church question, entitled, "A Chapter of Autobiography."

In October, 1874, an article from his pen appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, on "Ritualism," in which he asserted, that "Rome had substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change in faith," that she "had refurbished and paraded anew, every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused," that "no one could become her convert, without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another," and that "she had equally repudiated modern thought, and ancient history." The Romanists were furious at these charges, coming from such a source, and they demanded on all sides, that he should substantiate his charges or retract them. Mr. Gladstone presently proceeded to substantiate them, in a bulky pamphlet, entitled "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance; a political expostulation." This was published November 7, 1874. To this pamphlet replies were made by Monsignor Capel, Dr. W. H. Newman, Archbishop (now Cardinal) Manning, and others. To these replies, Mr. Gladstone rejoined February 24,

1875, by another pamphlet, entitled "Vaticanism: an answer to Replies and Reproofs," and in the January number of the *Quarterly Review*, published an article on "The Speeches of Pius IX." The judgment of fair and unprejudiced men, seems to be, that Mr. Gladstone has the advantage of his antagonists in the controversy. A letter of Mr. Gladstone to our late Minister at the Court of St. James, Hon. W. E. Schenck, which, though bearing date November 28, 1872, was first published in *Harper's Monthly* for December, 1876. In that letter, he defends himself with great ability and very copious proofs, from the charge of unfriendliness to this country during the late civil war.

The outrages inflicted by the Turks upon the peasants of Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, roused Mr. Gladstone's indignation to fever heat. In Parliament, he was energetic in his denunciation of the ministry for their attempts to conceal or palliate these crimes, and for their evident sympathy with the Turks, and hostility to Russia. On the 5th of September, 1876, he published a pamphlet entitled, "The Turco-Servian War: Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East." This pamphlet was written with all the earnestness of his nature, and it roused a spirit of indignation in England, which followed up, as it was, by the letters and pamphlets of Professor Freeman, Mr. Carlyle, and others, and the speeches of Mr. Gladstone, John Bright, and other leading men among the Liberals, and the action of Parliament, effectually checked the audacity of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and has forstalled, thus far at least, his efforts to force England into the war.

Mr. Gladstone has the reputation of being the most effective orator in the present House of Commons. Eloquence is not at a high premium there; but if he speaks

half as well as he writes, his speeches certainly have the merit of great clearness, system, and that energy and forcefulness, which is, in its best sense, eloquence.

Mr. Gladstone is too earnest and positive in his denunciation of what he deems wrong, not to have made for himself many enemies; but even the worst of them, would not dare to say, that he had ever been influenced by base or sinister motives, or that he had ever been guilty of a mean, insincere, or dishonest act. He is an Englishman of the very best type, not free from faults of dogmatism, impulsiveness, and perhaps bitterness; but a thoroughly manly, whole-hearted, and generous gentleman.

In the reforms which are to come to Great Britain in the near future, reforms which shall make the outward structure of her institutions correspond more nearly to their inward spirit, and which shall banish from them all remains of bigotry and intolerance, it would be a great blessing to England, if she could have the guiding hand of William Ewart Gladstone, to pilot her in safety through the stormy seas of political strife.

III. MILITARY AND NAVAL CHIEFTAINS.

NICHOLAS NICOLAIVITCH,

Grand Duke of Russia, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in Europe, is a younger son of the late Emperor Nicholas, born July 27 (Old Style), August 8 (New Style), 1831. He married, January 25—(February 6), 1856, Alexandra, Princess of Oldenberg, and has two sons, Nicholas and Peter. The preference of the Grand Duke was early developed for a military life, and he has enjoyed every possible advantage of military instruction, and is regarded as a skillful and accomplished soldier. It is said that in the plans of the present war, serious differences of views have occurred between him and his Chief of Staff, and that, being unable to come to an agreement, they have referred their respective plans to the arbitrament of the Czar, who has visited the camps on the Danube to decide the questions involved, more satisfactorily. The Grand Duke is about forty-six years of age, a vigorous, strongly made, muscular, soldierly-looking man, with a characteristic Romanoff face, in which his brother's melancholy and sadness, occasionally shows itself. He is General of Engineers, Aid-de-camp General to the Emperor, Inspector-General of the Engineer Corps, of the Imperial Guard, and of the Cavalry, Commander-in-Chief of the Military District of St. Petersburg, President of the Supreme Committee on the Organization and Instruction of the Army, Chief of a Grenadier Regiment, of the Regiments of Dragoons of Astrachan, of the Alexander Hussars, and of the First

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS, COMMANDER OF THE RUSSIAN FORCES.

Battalion of Sappers of the Caucasus, Proprietor (Colonel-in-Chief) of the Austrian Hussars No. 2, and Chief of the 5th Regiment of Prussian Cuirassiers.

ABD-UL KERIM PASHA,

the Commander-in-Chief of the Western Turkish Army, although he is said to have received a military education in Vienna, under General Hauslab, has not given many indications of possessing a thorough practical knowledge of the science of war, and is, perhaps, rather too advanced in years for active field service. He was appointed Minister of War, by the Sultan, immediately after the assassination of the Ministers of War and Finance, by the Circassian conspirator, Hassan Bey, June 15, 1876; and on the 9th of the following month, took command of the Turkish army, operating in Servia; while Mukhtar Pasha was put in command of that portion engaged in the Herzegovina. On going to Servia, Abd-ul Kerim Pasha was accompanied by Suleiman Pasha, well known as the Director General of the famous Turkish military school at Constantinople, a man whose thorough training in the military schools of Europe, rendered him of infinite service to his superior officer. The Servian campaign was highly successful, though the credit is probably due to Suleiman Pasha, and the subordinate generals in the field; as Abd-ul Kerim Pasha, was but little in the field, his head-quarters being at Nisch, until the way was opened to Djunis, and thence to Alexinatz. He was honored January 14, 1877, by the presentation (through twelve Hungarian students), of a magnificent "Sword of Honor," a mark of sympathy from the Magyar youth. The blade of this weapon had once belonged to Maria Theresa, and bears, amongst other devices, the

inscription, "The Youth of Hungary, to the Conqueror of Djunis, 1877." Its hilt bears the devices of Turkey and Hungary, clasping hands across the Danube; and its sheath, is adorned with portraits of various Hungarian patriots, and with a representation of the two nations, triumphing over the Panslavonic hydra.

In person, Abd-ul Kerim Pasha is somewhat corpulent; a trifle lame, of pleasant manners, but rather taciturn, except at table; to the pleasures of which he is said to be rather addicted. His age, judging from his appearance, cannot be less than sixty years. He was dismissed from his command, for inefficiency, July 18, 1877.

GENERAL TCHERNAIEFF

is a Russian officer, of good family, and of very thorough military training. He commanded one army corps of the Russian army, which was engaged in the Khivan war, and attained some distinction there for military ability. For some cause, he left the Russian army in 1875 (some reports say that he was cashiered), and in 1876, made his appearance in Servia, where he was soon placed in command of the Servian troops. Whether from want of training and discipline on the part of the troops, or lack of strategic skill on the part of the commander, the whole campaign was a disastrous and disgraceful one. The Turkish commander, who was not a man of conspicuous ability, was able to walk over the fields almost without serious resistance. The Servians have the reputation of being brave and resolute—certainly their brethren of Montenegro are so—and we can hardly come to any other conclusion, than that their commander was, at least, partially in fault. He has not been heard from in the present war.

ABD-UL KERIM PASHA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF WESTERN TURKISH ARMY.

GENERAL TCHERNAIEFF.

CROAT MAN.

HOBART PASHA,

Commander of the Turkish fleets in the Black Sea and Mediterranean, is an Englishman by birth, being the second son of the (sixth) Earl of Buckinghamshire. The Hon. Augustus Charles Hobart was born in 1823; and, in 1836, entered the Royal Navy, distinguishing himself even while a midshipman, by his zeal, in command of men-of-war's boats, in the suppression of the slave-trade in Brazilian waters. As a reward for these services he was, in 1845, appointed to the Queen's yacht, on which he served two years. During the Crimean war he commanded H. M. S. *Driver*, in the Baltic, and was highly commended in official dispatches for gallant conduct at the capture of Bomarsund and the attack on Abo. In 1862, he was retired from the British navy, as post-captain, on half-pay; and, until 1865, commanded a blockade-runner on the North Carolina coast, keeping open communications with the Confederate States during the war of the American rebellion. His adventures were published in a book written by him under the name of "Captain Roberts." On the breaking out of the Cretan war, 1867, he entered the Turkish navy, and was given the charge of the squadron blockading the coasts of that island, with special directions to prevent the operations of Greek blockade-runners, a business for which his own experience in blockade-running had eminently qualified him. For his judicious conduct of this duty, as well as for the tact with which he conducted certain negotiations off Syra, in the interests of general peace, he received distinguished honor and decorations from the Austrian, French, and Turkish governments. On his return to Constantinople, the Sultan created him

Pasha, with the rank of full admiral. In June, 1871, by permission of the Queen, he was allowed to accept, from the Sultan, the insignia of the second class of the Imperial Order of the Medjidie. Shortly after, the Greek government called the attention of the British government to the fact that, though in command of the Turkish navy, Hobart Pasha was still on the British Navy List; and his name was accordingly stricken off the rolls by the Lords of the Admiralty. In 1874, however, Hobart Pasha appealed to Lord Derby, the then Premier of England, for re-instatement—urging his undoubted services to the cause of humanity, during the Cretan war; his excellent personal and professional reputation in Europe; the fact that the organization of the Turkish navy, and the establishment of its naval schools, training and gunnery ships were due to his efforts, etc. This appeal was supported by Lord Derby "as a matter of Imperial policy," and he was, therefore, again placed by the Admiralty on the retired list of the British navy, with the opportunity of rising, by seniority, to the rank of retired Admiral. But on the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey, the protest of the English Liberals was so decided against his being longer retained on the Navy rolls, that Lord Beaconsfield was compelled to direct the Lords of the Admiralty to give him his choice to resign his connection with the Turkish navy, or submit to be again stricken from the rolls of the British navy. He chose the latter. On the 29th of April, 1877, in command of his flagship, the *Rethymo*, he ran the Russian batteries at Galatz, under fire, and safely passed into the Black Sea. He has signalized his return to the Black Sea by bombarding Poti, and many of the other towns belonging to Russia on the north and northeast coast of that sea, and has threatened Odessa.

COUNT HELLMUTH VON MOLTKE, CHIEF-MARSHAL OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

MARSHAL VON MOLTKE.

Charles Hellmuth Bernard, Count Von Moltke, Chief Marshal of the German Empire, chief of the general staff, is, perhaps, the most complete master of the science of war now living. He is descended from a well-known Mecklenburg family, and was born at Parchim, in Mecklenburg, October 26, 1800. His father, a former officer of the Mecklenburg army, possessed the estate of Gnewitz, at Parchim. Soon after his birth, his parents removed to the Duchy of Holstein. In his twelfth year, the boy went to Copenhagen, in order to study military science in the barracks of Copenhagen. In 1822, after a severe course of study at Copenhagen, he entered the Prussian service as a lieutenant, in the Eighth Infantry Regiment, and continued his studies in the Military Academy. He was thrown entirely upon his own resources, his parents having lost their property by the war. He had, however, made such good use of his opportunities, that after spending some time longer in the School of Division, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, he was advanced to a position on the General Staff. In 1835, he made a tour in Turkey, and came under the notice of the Sultan, Mahmoud II., who advised with him in regard to the reorganization of the Turkish army, of which we have given some account in the chapter on Turkish history. Moltke remained in Turkey several years, and in 1839, took part in the campaign of the Turks in Syria against Mehemet Ali, and his adopted son, Ibrahim Pasha. After his return to Prussia, he published, in 1845, an account of his observations in Turkey. He subsequently became adjutant to Prince Henry of Prussia, who was then resident in Rome, and on his death, in 1847, was engaged in duties connected with the general command on the Rhine. In

1848, he became a member of the Grand General Staff, and in 1849, Chief of Staff to the Fourth Army Corps in Magdeburg. In 1858, he was advanced to the rank of Chief of the Grand General Staff of the Prussian Army, and in 1859, he became a Lieutenant-General. In the Austro-Italian war of 1859, he was present at the headquarters. From 1860, he spared no pains to perfect the reorganization and develop the capacities of the Prussian General Staff, and the Prussian army. He was perfectly in accord with Prince Bismarck, and the two persuaded the King into that thorough reorganization, which though wrung with so much difficulty from a reluctant Diet, was the means of placing Prussia and Germany in their present proud position. In the war of 1864, against Denmark, Moltke sketched the plan of the campaign, and assisted in its execution. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, he displayed the minutest topographical knowledge, and the most wonderful prescience. His plans for the movement of the Prussian armies indicated a most intimate and thorough acquaintance with every hill, mountain, defile, ravine, and stream in their course, even their places of encampment were designated, and the progress they would be expected to make and the obstacles they would have to encounter, were all noted in the instructions. He had foreseen the fatal delays of Benedek, and the unavailing impetuosity of Clam-Gallas, and had so arranged the time of marching, of the different Prussian armies, as to render their junction at the right time morally certain. The unexpected obstacles which delayed the Crown Prince, and prevented his reaching the battle-field of Sadowa, till afternoon, had well-nigh produced a disaster; but even then, Von Moltke's careful allowance of time, brought all right in the end. Both Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince had been his pupils

in military science, and the latter was an especial favorite with him.

But his crowning glory as a strategist was in his conduct of the Franco-German war. He had foreseen this war for several years, and had been making preparations for it. There is a story told, and believed throughout the Rhenish departments of France, that two or three years before the war, a venerable professor of geology and botany, with his assistant, both Germans, made a tour, very deliberately, through all the region subsequently traversed by the German army; that, hammer in hand, they chipped off pieces of the fortifications at Weissembourg, Strasbourg, and Metz; examined the forest trees, sketched the hills and valleys, noted the ravines, and stopping at the wayside inns, seemed deeply interested in the additions they were making to their herbariums and geological bags. The people regarded them as half-crazy devotees of science, but, during the war, more than one of the French soldiers who were taken prisoners, recognized the venerable professor as General Von Moltke, and his assistant, as the Crown Prince. However, this may be, it is certain that the maps giving the minutest details of the region over which the armies were to pass, were miracles of topographical accuracy, and his precaution to have each day's march printed in advance, and copies of the maps and camping-grounds placed in the hands of each subaltern, every day, was a masterpiece of strategy. Not less perfect were his details in regard to each action. When General Wimpffen hesitated in regard to surrendering at Sedan, General Von Moltke demonstrated to him in the fewest possible words, that such was the position of the German troops, and so complete their command of every avenue of escape or resistance, that his surrender had been a foregone conclusion since the

previous day. He was the Commander-in-Chief during the whole war. In recognition of his unrivalled services, he was created a Count (he had been made a baron and received the order of the Black Eagle, and a national dotation for his services in the Austro-Prussian war) October 28, 1870, made chief marshal of the German Empire in September, 1871, and again received a national dotation, and the grand cross of the order of the Iron Cross from the Emperor. He also received from the Czar, the order of St. George. He has written several works on military science, and one of them has been translated into English, with the title of "Observations on the Influence that Arms of Precision have on Modern Tactics."

Marshal Von Moltke is a man of dignified and imposing personal appearance, but of great modesty and simplicity of manners. He is reserved and taciturn, but always, whether in conversation, in giving commands to his officers, or in the heat of battle, maintains the same composure and equanimity.

THE END.

MAP OF THE SEAT OF WAR AND EUROPE.

Showing

the positions of the contending forces and of the great powers interested in the struggle.

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Scale of English Miles. 0 50 100 200 300 400 500

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